Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

STATE

DEC 1 PM 4 26

November 24, 1982

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
RECEIVED BY D.M.Cano DATE 11/29
RELEASABLE

Mr. Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary
for Congressional Relations
State Department
2201 C. Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20502

Dear Powell:

I am sure others have called your attention to the article entitled "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile" which was carried in the August edition of the Department of State Bulletin.

This article in a footnote states, "Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people."

As one who has over the years spoken out against the tragedy of the Turkish genocide of the Armenians in 1915 and as the Representative in Congress of thousands of Americans of Armenian descent who live in the 11th Illinois Congressional District, I find this State Department position totally unacceptable. It makes a mockery of the dedicated service of Ambassador Henry Morgenthau and other State Department officials who transmitted eye witness reports to the State Department on the massacre.

In the event the State Department has "lost" or "misplaced" the evidence in its own files of the Armenian genocide by the Turks, I am enclosing complete State Department Decimal File No. references, with dates, along with Xerox copies, in order that the appropriate officials in your Department may review this material to the end that an unambiguous retraction is printed in the next issue of the Department of State Bulletin.

I am outraged by the effort on the part of State Department officials to distort recorded and documented historical events, and I await hearing from you regarding the action the State Department takes to issue a total and unambiguous retraction.

Sincerely,

Frank Annunzio

FRANK ANNUNZIO
Member of Congress

Enclosures

(92)

[redacted]

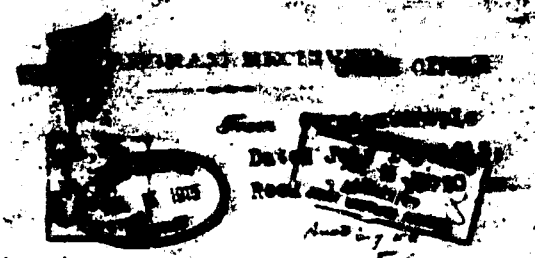
[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] Ambassador Morgenthau reports deportation, [redacted] inevitable death, of several hundred thousand Armenians. Turkish Government unresponsive to protests and threats about situation.

[redacted] 867.4016/271 — Charge d'Affaires Philip reports new deportations and rationalization of these events by Minister of Interior Talaat Pasha. Extensive aid needed to sustain survivors. — March [redacted], 1916

4) 867.4016/266 — Charge d'Affaires Hoffman Philip, United States Embassy, cables State Department that Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs claims Armenian deportations have ceased. — February 15, 1916



Secretary of State,
Washington.

841, July 10, 9 A.M.

~~Strictly confidential.~~ My 778, June 18, 6 p m. Persecution of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions. Reports from widely scattered districts indicate systematic attempts to uproot peaceful Armenian populations and through arbitrary arrests, terrible tortures, wholesale expulsions and deportations from one end of the Empire to the other accompanied by frequent instances of rape, pillage, and murder, turning into massacre, to bring destruction and destitution on them. These measures are not in response to popular or fanatical demand but are purely arbitrary and directed from Constantinople in the name of military necessity, often in districts where no military operations are likely to take place. The Moslem and Armenian populations have been living in harmony but because

Confidential File

[redacted]

From: Constantinople, T T
July 25, 9 a.m.

College have been tortured. Some others have died under torture or lost mind. Many hundred young Armenian men originally taken as soldiers, several whom were students American College, have been sent away without food, clothing or money. Night of June 25 several hundred other Armenians recently arrested, including professors American College, were sent away in the middle of the night without food, clothing or money. Many deaths are reported en route in [redacted] lots of prisoners. Preparations are being made apparently to send away many more.

Incorporated by [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

From Constantinople

Number --- Sic.

A-E.

assist in lessening these atrocities is the German but I believe it will simply [redacted] content itself with giving advice and a formal protest probably intended for record and to cover itself from future responsibility. German Ambassador is about to leave on a six weeks vacation. Have impressed on him that he and his Government will have considerable share in the odium. Immediately upon the arrival of his substitute I shall make Herculean efforts to enlist his sympathies. Austrian Ambassador has promised me to try to influence Minister of the Interior.

I have repeatedly spoken to the Grand Vizier and pleaded earnestly with Minister of the Interior and Minister of War to stop this persecution. My arguments were unavailing except as to Constantinople. The men in authority

Transmitted by [redacted]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-68 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEP'T
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

From Constantinople

Number---841

A-4.

missionaries now here Tajmarsovan, Beirut, Bardizag and Constantinople and all agree that present crisis is worse than 1895 and 1896 massacres but none of them could suggest any further steps than those I have already taken. They fear that the matter will have to run its course. [illegible] authorities have definitely informed me that I have no right to interfere with their internal affairs. Still I desire to ask whether you have any suggestions.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,

Constantinople.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-58 FROM W. R. ANDERSON, STATE DEP'T
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

EGH

From Constantinople

Number ---- 1121.

---2---

The coterie, some of them office holders, who constitute the irresponsible governing force and who control the situation have smothered the opposition in Turkish Senate. Threats of belligerent nations are not only disregarded but seem to result in harsher treatment. The German and Austrian Embassies here seem to have no restraining power as the Turks claim that they have given more help than they have received. As far as America is concerned Turks under value sentimental good will in the absence of actual assistance. They allege that all ammunition we sell and money we loan handicap their enemies and not to their(comfort?). As time progresses without the Dardanelles being forced, and now that Bulgaria has reached an understanding with them, the Turks are feeling more independent and defiant than ever and less amenable to outside influence.

The

Deciphered by

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER OF 1-8-48 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEP'T
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

ERH

From Constantinople

Number ---- 1121.

assistance can be secured.

MORGENTHAU,
AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

Deciphered by

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER OF 1-8-68 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

From Constantinople

Number ---- 1181.

---3---

The greatest wealth of the Armenians is centered in Constantinople and I fear that it is but a question of time when the cupidity of some of the Turkish leaders and the desire of others to complete their nefarious scheme of practically destroying Armenians in Turkey will # to treat Constantinople Armenians as they have the others. Delay is being secured but entire escape of Constantinople Armenians is doubtful if present general political conditions here remain unchanged. I shall not relax my efforts to help to avoid this calamity, always remembering to do nothing that will jeopardize American interests which until now have been safeguarded.

In the meantime please direct the sympathies that are aroused America into practical channels. Large sums of money are needed to relieve suffering and prevent starvation and the United States is the only source from which substantial assistance

Decyphered by

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER OF 1-8-48 FROM W. R. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

APR 1915

FROM [illegible]

Dated March 28, 1915

Rec'd [illegible] 9:00 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1572.

March 28, 4 a.m.

~~VERY CONFIDENTIAL.~~

My 1574, February 15, 3 p.m.; your 1852, February 12, 2 p.m.

Recent telegram from Consul at Aleppo conveyed information that 800 Armenians were deported from there on March 13th. I interviewed Talaat Bey Minister of War, who said that while he must decline to take up the Armenian question officially, yet he would be pleased to discuss it with me informally and in a friendly spirit. Calling attention to previous statement of Minister of Foreign Affairs, reported in my 1574, and to the regrettable information which has subsequently reached the Embassy of deportations from Aleppo [illegible] (Ramsay?) Rodosto Adrianople Ismid

Enciphered by

Talaat Pasha was actually Minister of the Interior. See Consular reports from this period detailing continuing persecution of Armenians despite promises made by Ministers.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-9-56 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEP'T
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

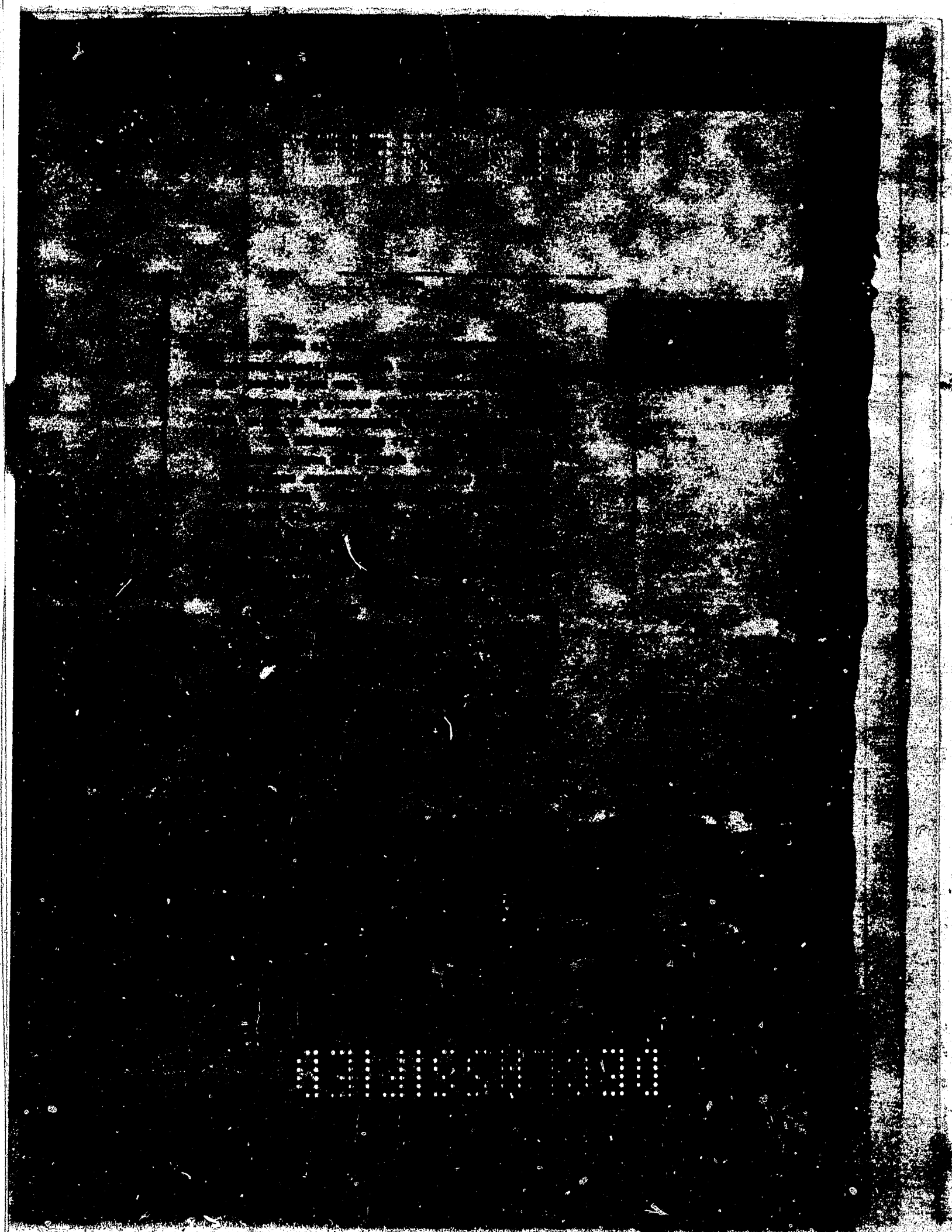
From

Constantinople,

Number 1672,

Aintab, Caesarea (Pallas?), including Catholics and protestants, and also of forced conversion, to horrible mistreatment Armenian Women at Harput, Aintab, et cetera, I communicated to him, as the most powerful member of the Government, informally verbally the Department's above instruction, and earnestly requested that he use his influence to cause the Turkish Government to comply with the suggestions therein expressed. He stated that in his opinion much of the private information received by the Department may have been exaggerated and said that the main effect of foreign missionary work among Armenians had been to stimulate their anti-governmental tendencies. He added that in the carrying out of the Government's original orders many innocent Armenians had suffered; that those orders were intended to apply to members of secret committees and their families only but that many others had been deported when it proved impossible

Deciphered by



CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-4-50 FROM C. E. ARMSTRONG, STATE DEPT.
By [illegible] DATE 4-24-50

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

From Constantinople.

Number -- 1672.

to do harm to the survivors, inferring that they would be helped where possible. Finally he promised me that the Armenian population of Constantinople will not be deported.

I gathered from the above that the representations of the Department may have a beneficial influence on the situation which I will continue to watch carefully and report upon. Some of the recent deportations reported to the Embassy, which police and other local authorities judge not to be native to the towns from which they have been sent, seem to have involved families. Although such families may have resided many years in the same place yet it is conceivable that brutal under-officials choose to consider them as transient and so find an excuse for sending them away even though orders might have been issued from the Ministry of the Interior not to interfere with the remaining Armenians in various districts. Leaving aside probable lack of inclination I believe the Turkish Government is not now in a position financially to accord really adequate assistance

Deciphered by

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople--1915--

--2--

the Turkish Government desire to have the good will of the United States. He asserted most emphatically that all deportation has ceased and that no more will take place. With reference to the failure of the government to exempt Catholics and Protestants, he stated that when first the deportations were began no distinctions was made between the different Armenian communities but that afterwards orders were sent to exempt from deportation Protestants and Catholics. He added that deported Protestants and Catholics would be allowed to return. In this connection I mentioned the case of the dragoman of the [redacted] American Consular Agency at Alexandretta, a Protestant Armenian who, notwithstanding the promises of the Porte to the Embassy and the instructions to the provisional authorities to leave unmolested, was deported and whose return the Embassy has been endeavoring to bring about. Minister for Foreign Affairs remarked that the man seemed to have disappeared but that he would again

speak

Enciphered by

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER OF 1-8-68 FROM W. B. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

3

WASHINGTON RECEIVED. GREEK

From Constantinople

Dated February, 1916.

Rec'd. Feb. 11, 8.55 a.m.

Filed

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1576, February 15, 3 p.m.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.~~

Your 1900, February 4, 4 p.m. During an interview with Minister for Foreign Affairs on the twelfth instant, I stated that the Embassy had learned of the sudden disappearance of Armenian Steward of the American college at Marsovan and that strong apprehensions existed in Marsovan that another deportation would take place. I then took up Department's instruction contained in your 1140, October fourth, and 1800, February fourth, as to the destructive effect of the above anti-Armenian measures were having upon the feeling of people of the United States for Turkey and asked that assurances be given at least that these persecutions cease. The Ambassador had already acted in conformity with your 1140. The Minister professed that the

Confidential File.

Enciphered by

[redacted]

[redacted]

From Constantinople--1852--

-3-

speak to Minister of the Interior who had promised to allow his return.

The Armenian situation which may be eventually greatly influenced by the outcome of the Russian campaign in the northeast is still very unsettled. Some amelioration is noticeable however and governmental activity appears to have largely suspended. American relief which is being quietly and unofficially administered continues to reach many survivors without local official interference.

Later: Your 1852, February 12, 2 p.m., just received and instructions will be carried out at first favorable opportunity.

PHILIP, AMERICAN CHARGE.

[redacted]

Enclosure 1

[redacted]

[redacted]

Document [redacted] Date [redacted]

[redacted] Embassy at Constantinople [redacted] Government that the United States Government may make public details of Armenian [redacted] if said Government [redacted]

[redacted] Department instructs United States Embassy at Constantinople to protest treatment of Armenians.

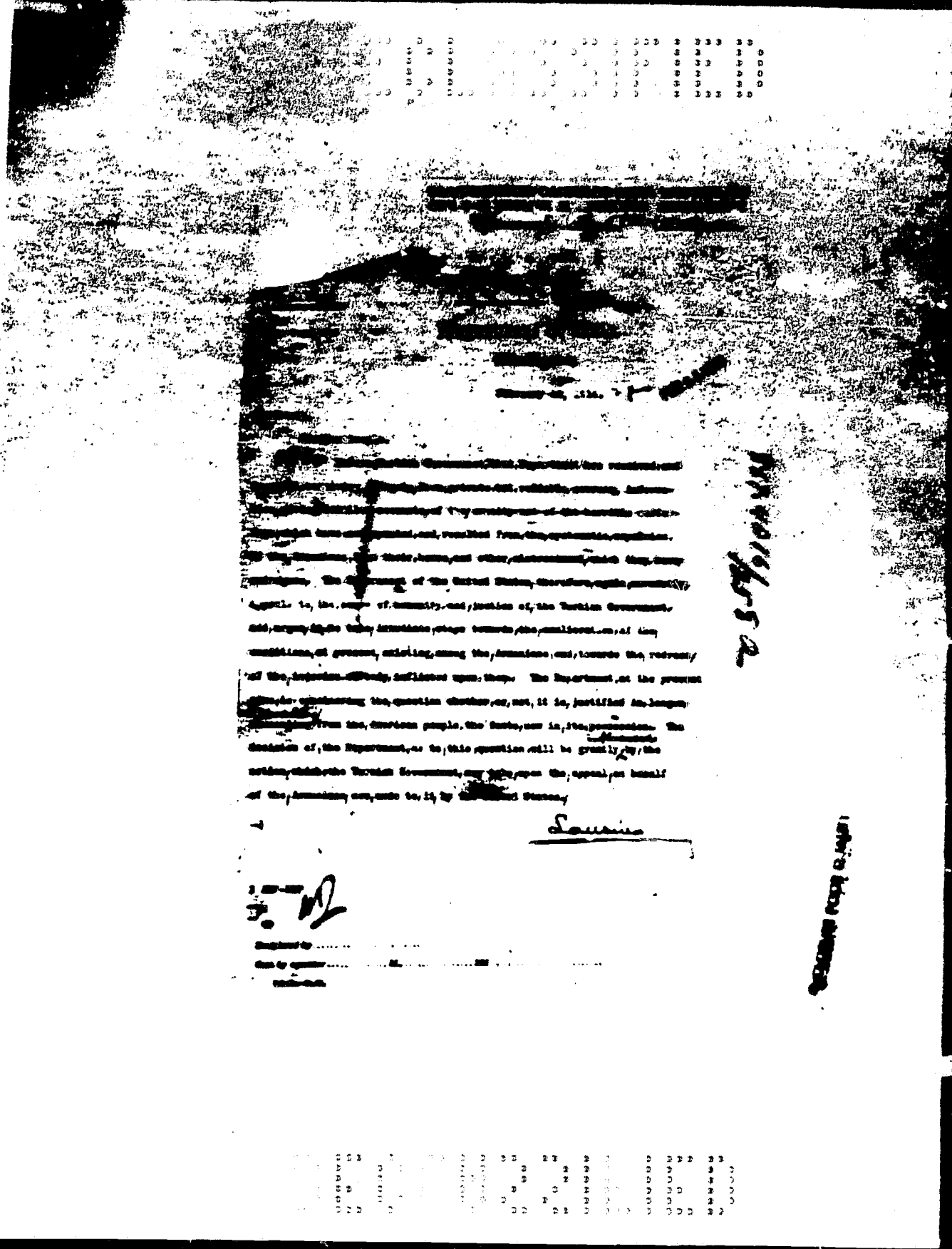
[redacted] Department approves Ambassador Henry Morgenthau's planning with Turkish officials to stop Armenian persecutions.

4) [redacted] To Secretary of State Lansing from Third Assistant Secretary William Phillips, approving Ambassador Morgenthau's protests of Armenian race extermination. July 20, [redacted]

5) [redacted] Department interoffice note regarding Armenian persecution and German protest to Turkish government. August 18, [redacted]

6) 867.4016/258b From Secretary of State Robert Lansing to German Ambassador Count H.H. von Bernstorff seeking German support in ending anti-Armenian measures in Turkey. February 16, [redacted]

7) 867.4016/258d From First Assistant Secretary of State Frank L. Polk to Berlin (James W. Gerard) instructing him to inform the German Government directly about the letter from Secretary of State Lansing to German Ambassador Bernstorff regarding the Armenian persecutions. February 16, 1916



CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. R. ANDERSON, FROM DEPT

Department of State

Washington,

Amembassy,

Constantinople.

[illegible] reports, reaching the United States are constantly furnishing additional evidence of the terrible character of the persecution which has been inflicted upon the Armenians in Turkey, and of the suffering which the survivors are still undergoing, and these reports are increasing the horror and indignation which the people of this country feel in regard to this matter. From the slight communication contained in the premises from the Ottoman Government that the orders for deportation would not include Catholic and Protestant Armenians and that Armenians desiring to emigrate to the United States should be permitted to do so, seem to have been kept imperfectly or not at all. You are instructed to again impress to the Turkish Government the feeling of the people of this country upon this matter, in accordance with Department's 1140. October fourth.

Lansing

867.4016/

S ARE/KMF

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-51 FROM W. B. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

RECEIVED
JAN
1916
DEPT OF STATE

OFFICE OF THE
THIRD ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Filed

July 20, 1915.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Permit me to call to your attention two telegrams recently received from Constantinople in regard to the persecution of Armenians.

867.4016/74

The first telegram, dated July 10th, reports a systematic attempt to uproot peaceful Armenian populations through arbitrary arrests, terrible tortures, etc.; not in response to a fanatical command but in the sense of military necessity. Many of the sufferers are innocent and have been loyal to the Ottoman Government and nearly all of them are [illegible] women. In several places the masses, and be a refused permission to relieve their misery in any degree to them. Even prominent Americans citizens have been tortured. Mr. Morgenthau says that we have a real interest in addition to the humanitarian aspect, in cases as certain Armenians involved in these forced displacements are naturalized citizens of the United States. The Ambassador was impressed by the German ambassador's fear that he and the German Government will have unfavorable criticism in the press, and he has expressed [illegible] to try to influence the Minister of the Interior [illegible] Mr. Morgenthau has provided with the press [illegible] Minister of the Interior as the Minister of War [illegible] communications the Department to give [illegible] of articles and of what it deemed.

867.4016/74

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER OF 1-6-48 JOHN W. B. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE FJ

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Aug. 18, 1915.

The American Ambassador at Constantinople in his telegram of August 11th offers for the "serious consideration" of the Department certain suggestions as to steps which he thinks the Department might be justified in taking on account of the "exceptional state of affairs" relative to the situation of the Armenians in Turkey.

In his telegram sent on the following day he reports that "the German Ambassador has made strong protest to the Sublime Porte."

Before the Department considers the [illegible] suggested by Ambassador Morgenthau it would appear to be advisable to inquire whether anything has been accomplished by the protest made by the German Ambassador.

867.4016 90,91

[signature]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

OFFICE OF THE
THIRD ASSISTANT SECRETARY

-2-

867.4016/76

In a telegram of July 16th, received today Mr. Morgenthau reported that the deportation and massacre against peaceful Armenians is increasing and that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion, and that protests are altogether unavailing to the Ottoman Government. The Ambassador suggests that we inform the belligerent nations of the state of affairs and also the United States.

I am inclined to believe with Mr. Putney that however much we may deplore the sufferings of the Armenians, we cannot take any active part in the matter at the present time.

Sincerely yours,

W. Phillips

ENCLOSURE NOT LOCATED

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-69 FROM W. R. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

No. 174 February 16, 1916.

Excellency:

Referring to your unofficial note of October 8, 1915, enclosing a copy of a memorandum handed to the Imperial Ottoman Government by the acting Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople on August 9, 1915, protesting against the expulsion of the Armenians, I have the honor to inform you that the United States Government has received and is still receiving information giving detailed accounts of the continued sufferings which have accompanied and resulted from the systematic deportation of the Armenians from their homes and from the other mistreatment which they have received. The information has come largely from private but reliable sources

867.4016/1587

His Excellency

Count J. H. von Bernstorff,

Imperial German Ambassador.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEP'T
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

of the Armenians by the Turks, should be made to the American people, with demand very largely upon the action which the Ottoman Government takes upon the new appeal made in behalf of the Armenians by the American Chargé d'Affaires.

An your note of October 8, 1915, to the Department, and the note of the acting Imperial German Ambassador at Constantinople, both indicate that the German Government shares with the Government of the United States its indignation at the conduct pursued by the Ottoman Government against the Armenians and its desire to secure an amelioration of the existing conditions, I have thought it proper to communicate to you at this time the substance of the instruction which has been cabled to the American Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, in the hope that the German Government may see fit to exercise once more its influence with the Ottoman Government

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-53 FROM W. B. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT.
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

Government in the affairs now being made to put an end to the Armenian tragedy.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

ROBERT LANSING

[illegible]
S AED/KR

A true copy of
the original
[illegible]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. R. ARMBRUSTER, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

No. 4 February 18, 1915.

867.4016/13-28A

The Honorable
James W. Gerard,
American Ambassador,
Berlin.

Sir:

There is herewith enclosed to you a copy of a note, dated February 18th, from the Secretary of State to the German Ambassador at Washington, relative to an instruction which the Secretary of State has cabled to the American Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, instructing him to again urgently appeal to the canons of humanity and justice of the Turkish Government and to urge it to take immediate steps towards the amelioration of the condition at present existing among the Armenians and towards the redress of the injuries already inflicted upon them.

You are instructed to inform the Imperial German Government of the delivery of this note to the German Ambassador at Washington, and to acquaint it with the substance of the note.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

Frank L. Polk

Enclosure.

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1915

Enclosure 2

[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED BY AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-52 FROM W. J. GORDON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

AMERICAN [illegible]

Aleppo, Syria, June 8, 1915.

No. 145

The Honorable

Henry Morgenthau,

American Ambassador,

Constantinople.

Sir:

With further reference to my despatch No. 143 of May 12, last, relative to the action of the Ottoman Government in sending the Armenians from their homes in various parts of Northern Syria and Southwestern Asia Minor and scattering them over a wide country,

[illegible]

There is a living stream of deportees moving into Aleppo from the surrounding towns and villages, the principal ones being Jerablus, Killis, Jasmanieh, Semanin, Baghtche, Idlib, Antyol, [illegible]. They all come under a heavily armed escort, [illegible] 500 at a time, and consist of old men, women and children; all the middle aged and young men having been taken for military service. No animals [illegible] have been taken. They are forced [illegible] on foot. They are taken only [illegible] clothes they wear and a few [illegible] they carry with them.

Several deportations have [illegible] Aleppo more or less by the system [illegible] station of [illegible] a few days [illegible] Aleppo [illegible] some time, [illegible]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-58 FROM W. R. ANDERSON, STATE DEP'T
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

times the journey to some out of the way place where there is neither shelter, food nor means of possible existence. Travellers report seeing the dead in such localities as Anah on the Euphrates River, five or six days journey from Raqqa, where they are being scattered over the desert to starve or die of disease in the burning heat, accustomed as they were to the higher altitudes.

I am reliably informed that there are at present more than 2,600 of such people in Aleppo, and know that some of them that number have been taken out from here and scattered in various directions. According to reports more than 25,000 people have already been taken from their homes and are at the mercy of strangers of antagonistic religious beliefs who martyrize and torture them in various ways. This though has been accomplished in the vicinity of Aleppo.

Trustworthy persons report that in the interior a perfect reign of terror exists, especially at Diarbekir. The same parties report that 200 prominent Christians at that place have been imprisoned in the course of the search for arms and proofs of disloyalty toward the Government; while other reports place the number of victims as high as 1,000. It is also stated that 22 have been beaten to death in the efforts to make them divulge information they did not possess. Some cases of bastinadoing have been treated by physicians, the injured feet having to be operated on to prevent amputation. It is believed that great numbers have been beaten to death. Such has been the condition there since about April 22. [illegible] this is also true of villages and towns in the country surrounding that city.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

One person states that :-

"Christians have been drafted to work on the new [illegible] of the Army there. These men receive 4 piasters (8 cents) a day for their work; men sent to work on roads at a distance do not receive enough to live on and are compelled to draw upon those at home for money and food."

"These men are not allowed to remain in their homes at night, like most of the inhabitants of the city, but are held as prisoners less they desert; their quarters are vile and filthy, with no accommodations whatsoever in the way of toilet rooms. The men are not permitted to leave their quarters even temporarily."

"The sick are unattended, and unless there are friends the hungary go unfed."

"Gendarmes and recruits carry, money and persecute the people of the cities and villages unmercifully. Blackmail is collected generally by the gendarmes."

"A few villages in the Mouzuk plain, Kalaan, Hodgan and Ouajgan (Van Vilayet) seem to have been destroyed by government orders because the inhabitants tried to protect themselves."

Examples of individual cases of persecution such as blackmailing, beating, imprisoning, etc., could be stated but which would lend no further weight to the general statement of outrages that are being practiced daily upon a defenseless and inoffensive people that demand nothing more than to be given a chance to eke out as the best a miserable existence.

The Government has been appealed to by various prominent people and even by those in authority to put an end

to

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-56 FROM W. B. ANDERSON, STATE DEP'T
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

to these conditions, under the representations that it can only lead to the greatest blame and reproach, but all to no avail. It is without doubt a carefully planned scheme to thereby extinguish the Armen ian rac.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

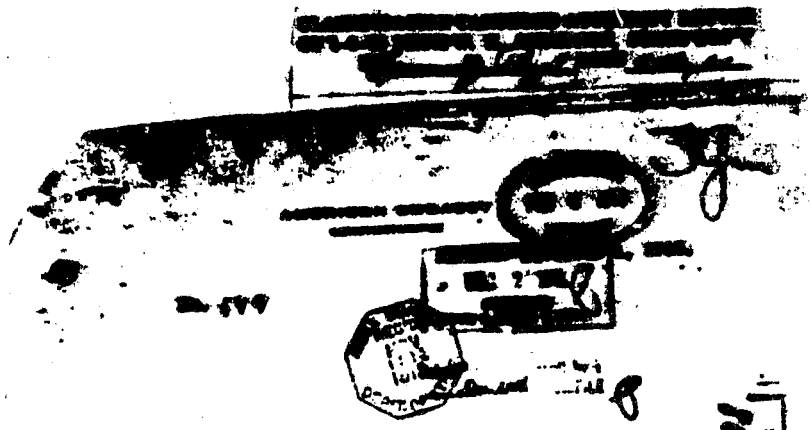
Your obedient servant,

[signature]

Consul.

840.1

Copies sent to the Department and Consulate General.



No. 579

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith four copies of a report on the Armenian situation, dated September 30th, which the Consul at Aleppo has addressed to this Embassy, and copy of which he has forwarded directly to the Department.

Mr. Jackson prepared these extra copies of his report in the expectation that the Department might see fit to communicate them to the British, French, Russian, and Italian Foreign Offices.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Enclosures:

Four, as above stated.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER OF 1-4-50 FROM W. L. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT

[redacted]

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Aleppo, Syria, September 28, 19[illegible]

The Honorable

[redacted]

American Ambassador,

Constantinople, Turkey.

Sir:

I have the honor to report as follows regarding the deportation of Armenians, supplementary to my report in the Embassy No. 945 of August 19 last:

The deportation of Armenians from their homes by the Turkish Government has continued with a persistence and perfection of plan that it is impossible to conceive in those directly carrying it out, as indicated by the accompanying tables of "Movement by Railway", showing the number arriving by rail from interior stations up to and including August 26 last to be 88,788. In addition thereto it is estimated that at least 100,000 others have arrived afoot. And such a condition as these unfortunates are in, especially those coming afoot, many having left their homes before Easter, deprived of all of their worldly possessions, without money and all sparsely clad and some robed from the treatment by by their escorts and the dappling deportations en route. It is extremely rare to find a family intact that has come

any

[redacted] CARBOARD ATTACHED LETTER
OF [redacted] STATE DEPT
DATE [redacted]

[redacted] unfortunate diseases, incurably all having lost members from diseases and fatigue, young girls and boys stricken ill by horrible infections, and above all the men living here emphasize from the fatigue and suffering that has been to [redacted] punishment, many having done away with in atrocious manners before the eyes of their relatives and friends. No secret has been the treatment that awaited extremities given the number of survivors at only 10 per cent. of those originally deported. On this basis the number of those surviving even this far being less than 100,000 up to September 15, there seems to have been about 1,000,000 persons lost up to this date.

There were persistent reports of the selection of great numbers of the most prominent men from nearly every city, town and village, of their removal to outside places and their silent disappearance by means of which we are not positively informed but which the imagination can more or less accurately establish, as months have passed and no more has come of their misfortune. The heinous treatment of thoroughly exhausted women and children in the open streets of Aleppo by the armed escorts, who relentlessly beat and kicked their helpless charges along when illness and fatigue prevented further effort, is evidence of what must have happened along the routes of the deportees further removed from civilization.

The enhanced mortality of the victims is further proven by the death of a hundred or more daily of those arriving in this city. Travellers report having seen numberless corpses along the roadside in the adjacent territory, or bodies in all sorts of positions where the victims fell in the last stages of [illegible] from [illegible] disease, and on the left fighting down the bodies of children. Many are the harrowing tales

[redacted]

[redacted]

-2-

taken related by the sufferers, but they are quite correct. The problem is what can be done for their relief when they are rapidly pushed on to Homs, Hama, Damascus, etc., and on to Amman, the railway station furthest south to which Christians have been heretofore permitted to travel. Surely everything necessary for existence is lacking at most of these places, and at Amman it is reported there is neither food nor drink.

Up to the present the residents of Aleppo have not been molested, but fear the time is approaching when they will follow those now en route before them.

In order to provide the barest existence for these people a most considerable sum is necessary, say $150,000 a week. This would be at the rate of only a dollar a head, which would hardly furnish bread, to say nothing of clothing, shelter, medical treatment, etc. Each religious community has a relief committee to care for its own, but means at hand are altogether inadequate.

1/ Enclosed are tables showing the "Movement by Railway", "List 2/3/ of Emigrations or Deportees", list of "Protestants", and list of 4/ "Nothing", all of which have been compiled from information gathered from obvious sources, showing the numbers of each sent eastward, their whereabouts and needs.

This report is transmitted in triplicate, that copies thereof may be transmitted to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy, respectively, if found convenient, the interests of which in this district have been entrusted to this Consulate. Copy is also being sent to the Department of State.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

[redacted]
Consul.

Enclosures:
1/ to 4/, inclusive, as stated.
800.1.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
July	31, 1918	515	47	Ashi-Hayemiki
August	2	200	200	Ishen
"	3	200	71	Ashi-Hayemiki
"	4	445	200	Ishen
"	4	345	200	Sen-dash-Gumma
"	5	200	100	Ishen
"	6	200	100	Sen-dash-Gumma
"	7	224	134	Ajumshiamo
"	8	150	200	Ishen
"	8	542	200	Ashi-Hayemiki
"	9	140	200	Ishen
"	11	457	196	"
"	12	1,000	400	"
"	12	440	85	Ashi-Hayemiki
"	15	1,000	400	Ishen
"	15	700	95	Ashi-Hayemiki
"	17	117	30	Ino-ni-din
"	18	440	140	Ashi-Hayemiki
"	19	200	200	Ishen
"	22	670	254	"
"	25	1,000	400	"
"	26	200	200	"
"	29	200	200	"
"	31	[redacted]	[redacted]	Ino-ni-din
Totals		13,000	5,000	
Add to July 30		[redacted]	[redacted]	
		13,000	7,851	
Add [redacted] for three who [redacted]		[redacted]	[redacted]	
Grand Totals		25,675	9,775	

Total number adults and children 35,450, by railway [redacted].

[redacted]

[illegible] CANCELLED CABLE AND ATTACHMENT LETTER
OF [illegible] FROM U.S. LEGATION, STATE DEPT
[illegible] DATE [illegible]

(Enclosure No. 2 with despatch No. 882 to Embassy, Constantinople.)

REFUGEES OF ARMENIANS.
(Gregorian or Orthodox).

Locality	Number	Widows with their Children.	Orphans in Orphanages.	No. of Orphans in families.	Total No. Widows and others in need.	Sum Required Monthly.
Aleppo (a)	17,120	6,000	1,100	7,000	14,000	$ 19,000
Bab Bou (b)	22,100	6,000	---	14,000	22,000	26,400
Ras el Ain (c)	1,100	1,100	---	---	1,100	1,320
In Villages near Aleppo (d)	10,100	4,000	---	6,100	10,100	12,120
Hama and vicinity (e)	28,400	---	---	12,400	12,400	15,000
Ashi Kayum-ji (f)	7,000	---	---	2,000	2,000	2,000
Forwarded to Damascus (g)	40,000	6,100	---	20,000	26,100	30,000
Totals	126,410	23,200	1,100	62,050	86,300	113,940

To give an idea of the number of persons that have been deported from their native towns in the Eastern provinces, and those that have succeeded in arriving in the vicinity of Aleppo, the following table is shown:

Locality	Persons deported.	Persons arrived.
Arghani-Maden	600	32
Tchemich-gulfak	940	8
Diarn	120	12
Mihal	540	140
Totals	1,200	197 (16.2 per cent.)

(a) In Aleppo
(b) In surrounding villages.
(c) En route.
(d) In adjacent villages
(e) En route.
(f) En route. (2,000 sent to Mo.)
(g) Forwarded from Aleppo.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER OF 1-6-62 JOHN W. S. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT

(Basic Desp. No. 2 with despatch No. 888 to Embassy, Constantinople.)

EXPULSION OF ARMENIANS.

(Protestants.)

Localities affected.	Estimated No. of Persons before deportation.
Sivas Province	8,000
Yuzgat "	8,000
Kastamouni "	12,000
Diarbekir Province	12,000
Adana "	6,000
Erzeroum "	5,000
Aleppo "	7,000
Malatia Sandjak	2,000
Cesarea "	7,000
Marash "	6,000
Smyrna "	1,500
Total	67,000

Estimated number deported, 70 per cent., or 36,900.

Estimated number of deported that have arrived 25 per cent., or 11,780. (This is considered to be the maximum.)

Estimated number of persons arrived and existing in:

Aleppo, widows,	800
" railroad,	600
" in family	1,000
Der Zor, persons	1,800
Ras ol Ain & Serouadje	1,000
Nisarra	800
Mardelje	800
Abdul Hayvanli	100
Ja'bun	2,000
Dispersed for [illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] OF ARMENIANS.

(Protestants.)

The Protestants have organized an orphanage into which have been gathered the following:

45 widows, acting as care-takers

148 orphan boys who have mothers

188 " " without parents

65 " girls who have mothers

168 " " without parents

619 total provided for.

Of these 188 are protestants and 980 are Gregorian Armenians, and come from the following places:

Erzroom, Kharpoot, Sivereh, Akoon, Arapia, Severek, Diyarb, Orfah, Ourun, Malatia, Dort Yol, Zimia, Sivis, Bongal, Ichme Zeken, Ajimé, Lebbeen, Hassyeg, Yerzeer, Hanjilik, Haydoo, Sasoon, Geojam, Sivr, Ourun Hayin, Hardin, Deve Boyn, Shamah Gang, Vangoyun, Zeyer, Zeney, Lilyoon, Tiran, Peramis, Deve Bisser, Bingeol, Arabkir, Bazagal, Sazoon, Hazzyé, Caleb.

The number of refugees is very large, in fact even those persons that had means before they were deported are now in a begging condition. Consequently the needs for funds to supply food, shelter, clothing, medical attendance, etc., are great and very urgent. It is estimated that 20 Turkish pounds ($88) is a minimum with which the work can be done, per day.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER OF 1-8-48 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

(Continued.)

Localities collected.	No. Families Before	No. Families After.	No. and Location of Surviving Families and Present Condition.
Mosul Prov:			
Sivas	150	0	A number of survivors arrived Aleppo with-
Sarin	80	0	bed of all their possessions. From the
Yozat	100	0	other localities a small proportion of
Perchenik	300	0	the women and children arrived, and pr-
			ably the fate of the Bishop, Priests,
			Beys, and all the men is unknown. The
			Beys from Yozat who had been stripped
			naked threw themselves in wells.
Aleppo Prov:			
Aleppo	190	0	Bishop Clergy and Beys, also men dis-
Mara. a	160	0	Bishop, Clergy, [illegible]
Ghazi Hanneser	180	0	Priests and all men disappeared. Some
Behesni	180	0	hundreds of widows and children arrived
Arabkir	70	0	in Aleppo after many days travel afoot,
			all in great misery.
Diarbekir Prov:			
Diarbekir	200	0	A portion of the women and children
Tchinnasha	70	0	only arrived in Aleppo. " " " "
Veran Shahir	50	0	" " " " " "
Mardin	4,000	0	Bishop, Clergy, and all prominent men
Salamas	300		have disappeared.
			An imperfect census that has been compiled.

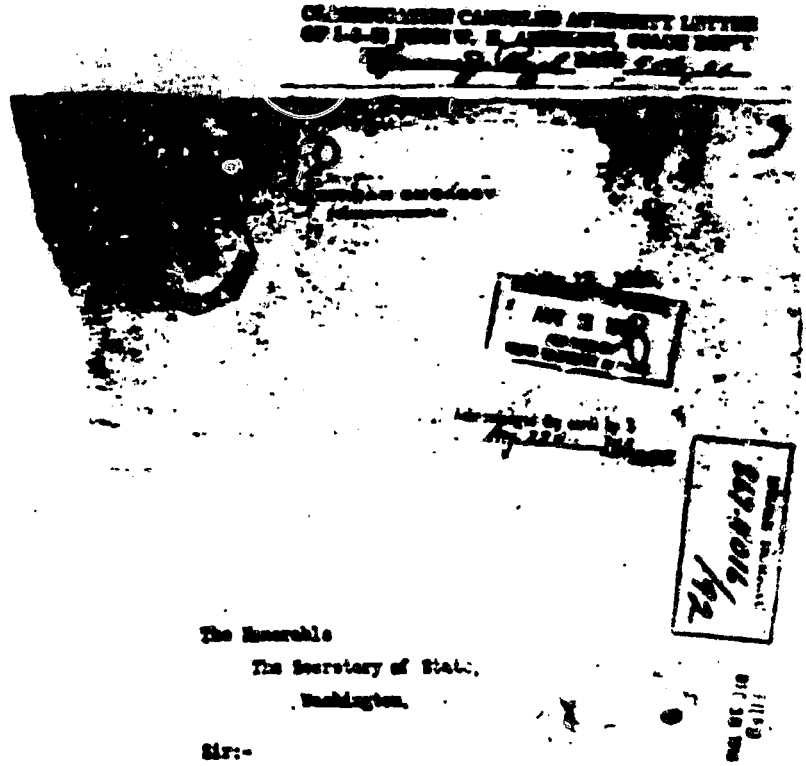
Notes.

There are about 5,000 persons, including widows, young girls and children, and Beys in Aleppo, who are lodged in different localities and fed by the local charit[illegible].

Between 6,000 and 7,000 [illegible] persons that have been deported have passed through Aleppo, per [illegible] that have scattered throughout the country or have been collected in [illegible] Bir, Khabbir, or strewn along the Bagdad railway, or [illegible] to Damascus and Hadjas, the three Aleppo [illegible] who are placed [illegible].

[illegible] deaths [illegible] and many more [illegible].

There are 1,000 persons at Ras-el-Ain, 500 at Zeitun and 300 at Ashi Kayasali. — [illegible] are only partially supplied the needy here and in the environs at least $400 is needed per day. This would be expended for shelter, drugs, beds and covers, food and funerals



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:-

I have the honor to enclose herewith for the information of the Department copies, in duplicate, of a despatch received from the American Consul at Aleppo, dated June 28, 1915, embodying a report prepared by Rev.F.N.Shelis, relative to the condition of the Armenians in Ourfa.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Enclosure: copies in duplicate
dated June 28, 1915.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-72 FROM W. R. ARMSTRONG, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE 6-26-72

Postal No.
[redacted]

[redacted] CONSULATE

Aleppo, Syria, June 26, 1915.

The Honorable,
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople, Turkey.

Sir:

I have the honor to quote the following from a communication dated the 14 instant received from Rev. F. H. Leslie, of Urfa, viz:

"I wish to inform you of conditions here. They are very bad and daily getting worse. I suppose that the Mgrmardo told you of the horrible things taking place in Zeytoun. Just such a reign of terror has begun in this city also. Daily the police are searching the houses of the Armenians for weapons, and not finding any, they are taking the best and most honorable men and imprisoning them; some of them they are executing, and others they are torturing with red hot irons to make them also reveal the supposedly concealed weapons. Four weeks ago they exiled fifteen men and their families sending them to the desert City of Ezkim, three days journey south of here. Among these men are our own native assistant business manager, Boghossian Kendjian, who has been a trusted and tried and faithful servant of the American Mission here for twenty years and a most loyal subject of the Kaiser. With Mr. Greeley gone and no experienced help besides this man it has been impossible for me to continue the mission work since he was taken. I personally went to the Mutessarif and offered to be surety for Kendjian, agreeing to deliver him over to the

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CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-53 FROM W. B. LAMBERTON, STATE DEPT

Government at any time that they asked for him, if they would allow him to return and continue his work in the Mission, but met with a courteous refusal. The Sandjakmy Department seems to have full control of affairs and the Government upholds them. They are now holding about a hundred of the best citizens of the city in prison, and today the Sandjakmy chief called the Armenian Bishop and told him that unless the Armenians deliver their arms and the revolutionists among them, that he has orders to exile the entire Armenian population of Zeyfa, as they did the people of Zeitoun. We know how the latter were treated for hundreds of them have been dragged through Zeyfa on their way to the desert whither they have been exiled. These poor exiles were mostly women, children and old men, and they were clubbed and beaten and lashed along as though they had been wild animals, and their women and girls were daily criminally outraged both by their guards and the ruffians of every village through which they passed, as the former allowed the latter to enter the camp of the exiles at night and even distributed the girls among the villagers for the night. These poor victims of their oppressors' lust and hate might better have died by the bullet in their mountain home than be dragged about the country in this way. About two thousand of them have passed through Zeyfa, all more dead than alive: many hundreds have died from starvation and abuse along the roadside, and nearly all are dying of starvation, thirst, or being kidnapped by the Arabs in the desert where they have been taken. We know how they are being treated because our Zeyfa exiles are in the same place and the young Armenian doctor who was there making medical examinations of soldiers for the Government has returned and told us."

"Now this is the fate which is in store for the Zeyfa Armenians also unless some one delivers them. Having seen

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CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-53 FROM W. H. LAWRENCE, STATE DEPT

but the Moslem rabble have been trained the earth themselves have said they will never submit to exile but will die in their native homeland, and who can blame them? We greatly fear that the worst persecuting elements of the Government in exciting, leading and spreading the pan, so will drive some of them to desperation that they will revolt, and that will amply provide a ground excuse. Up to date the Armenian Bishop and Patriarch powers have been most earnest and successful in keeping the young men especially under restraint and this has prevented any outbreak thus far, but as the Government is daily taking the richest and best leaders of the people and imprisoning or them there are few left to restrain the others. The officers of the Government told the Armenian Bishop plainly that unless they delivered their arms the Armenians here would be destroyed, but the people fear to deliver their arms for they remember that in 1895 the Government made all the Christians deliver their arms and as soon as they had done so, the Moslems fell upon the Christians and killed six thousand of them in two days. Now if the Government would make the Moslems give up their weapons also the Christians would cheerfully deliver theirs, but the Government is not taking weapons from the Moslems. Urfa is not a revolutionary center and never has been. The people here have always been loyal to the Government and have never resisted, not even when they were butchered like sheep. Why the Ismid Government persists in persecuting a population that has always had a good record for loyalty is very strange. There is no revolutionary organization here; there may be thirty or forty men of revolutionary beliefs, but there has been no propaganda and no organization. Can you report this matter to the Embassy? Perhaps the German and American Embassies together can change the attitude of the Government towards the Christians"

Trusting that the foregoing will prove of interest to the Embassy.

I have the honor etc.etc. (Signed): Jackson

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-4-50 JOHN W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY

AMERICAN CONSULATE

No.389 August 12, 1918.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

With reference to my previous despatches relative to the Armenian atrocities, I have the honor to transmit to you herewith in duplicate copy of a
1/ despatch from Consul Davis at Harput, dated June 11th,
2/ 1918, together with a copy of the testimony of a widow
3/ and a translation of a letter received from the Armenian revolutionary society "Dashnaktsutioun", dated August 4th, 1918.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Enclosures:

1/ Consul Davis to Mr. Jongenthaen, June 11, 1918.
2/ Testimony of Miss Vigouhi V. Zartarian.
3/ Letter of "Dashnaktsutioun", August 4, 1918.

Fwo

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE 6-28-48

Enclosure No.1

Sir:

American Consulate

Kemaveri-ul-Hais (Harpout, Turkey.

June 11,1915.

Honorable Henry M. Morgenthau,

American Ambassador,

Constantinople.

Sir:-

I have the honor to supplement my report of June 30th (File No.840.1 in regard to the expulsion of the Armenians from this region, as follows:

On July 1st a great many people left and on July 3rd several thousand more started from here. Others left on subsequent days. There is no way of obtaining figures but many thousand have already left. The departure of those living at Harpout was postponed, however, and many women and children were allowed to remain temporarily. People began to hope that the worst was over and that those who remained might be left alone. Now it has just been announced by the public crier that on Tuesday, July 13th, every Armenian without exception, must go.

If it were simply a matter of being obliged to leave here to go somewhere else it would not be so bad, but everyone knows it is a case of going to one's death. If there was any doubt about it, it has been removed by the arrival of a number of parties, aggregating several thousand people, from Erzeroum and Erzingan. The first ones arrived a day or two after my last report was written. I have visited their encampment a number of times and talked with some of the parties. A more pitiable sight cannot be imagined They are almost without exception ragged, filthy, hungry and sick.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-70 FROM V. S. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE 6-8-71

DOCUMENT POOR QUALITY

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that is not surprising in view of the fact that they have been on the road for nearly two months with no change of clothing, no chance to wash, no shelter and little to eat. The Government has been giving them some scanty rations here. I watched them one time when their food was brought. Wild animals could not be worse. They rushed upon the guards who carried the food and the guards beat them back with clubs hitting hard enough to kill them sometimes. At which time one could hardly believe that these people were human beings.

As one walks through the camp mothers offer their children and beg one to take them. In fact, the Turks have been taking their choice of these children and girls for slaves, or worse. In fact, they have even had their doctors there to examine the more likely girls and thus secure the best ones.

There are very few men among them, as most of them have been killed on the road. All tell the same story of having been attacked and robbed by the Kurds. Most of them were attacked over and over again and a great many of them, especially the men, were killed. Women and children were also killed. Many died, of course, from sickness and exhaustion on the way and there have been deaths each day them they have been here. Several different parties have arrived and after remaining a day or two have been pushed on with no apparent destination. Those who have reached here are only a small portion, however, of those who started. By continuing to drive these people [redacted] in this way it will be possible to dispose of all of them in a comparatively short time.

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CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-80 FROM W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

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Among those with whom I have talked were three Armenians. They had been educated at Constantinople and spoke excellent English. They said their family was the richest in Erzerum and numbered twenty-five when they left but there were now only fourteen survivors. The other eleven, including the husband of one of them and their old grandmother had been butchered before their eyes by the Turks. The oldest male survivor of the family was eight years of age. When they left Erzerum they had money, horses and personal effects but they had been robbed of everything, including even their clothing. They said some of them had been left absolutely naked and others with only a single garment. When they reached a village their grandmother obtained clothes for them from some of the native women. Another girl with whom I talked is the daughter of the Protestant pastor of Erzerum. She said every member of her family with her had been killed and she was left entirely alone. There and some others are a few survivors of the better class of people who have been exiled. They are being retained in an abandoned schoolhouse just outside of the town [illegible] no one is allowed to enter it. They said they practically in prison, although they were allowed to visit a spring just outside the building. It was there that I appeared to see them. All the others are camped in a large open field with no protection at all

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

at all from the sun.

The condition of these people indicates clearly the fate of those who have left and are about to leave from here. I believe nothing has been heard from any of them as yet and probably very little will be heard. The system that is being followed seems to be to have bands of Kurds awaiting them on the road to kill the men especially and incidentally some of the others. The entire movement seems to be the most thoroughly organized and effective massacre this country has ever seen.

Not many men have been spared, however, to accompany those who are being sent into exile, for a more prompt and sure method has been used to dispose of them. Several thousand Armenian men have been arrested during the past few weeks. These have been put in prison and each time several hundred had been gathered up in that way they were sent away during the night. The first lot were sent away during the night of June 23rd. Among them were some of the professors in the American college and other prominent Armenians, including the Primate of the Armenian Gregorian Church of Harput. There have been frequent rumors that all of these were killed and there is little doubt that they were. All Armenian soldiers have likewise been sent away in the same manner. They have been arrested and confined in a building a few ex of the town.

So

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF [illegible] FROM W. R. [illegible], STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

No distinction has been made between those who had paid their military conscription war and those who had not. Their money was accepted and then they were arrested and sent off with the others. It was said that they were to go somewhere to work on the roads but no one had heard from them since and that is undoubtedly false.

The fate of all the others has been pretty well established by reliable reports of a similar occurrence on Wednesday, July 7th. On Monday many men were arrested both at Sharjet and Shaarab and put in prison. At daybreak Tuesday morning they were taken out and made to march towards an almost uninhabited mountain. There were about eight hundred in all and they were tied together in groups of fourteen each. That afternoon they arrived in a small Yemenite village where they were kept over night in the mosque and other buildings. During all this time they were without food or water. All their money and much of their clothing had been taken from them. On Wednesday morning they were taken to a valley a few hours' distant where they were all made to sit down. Then the gendarmes began shooting them until they had killed nearly all of them. Some who had not been killed by bullets were then dispersed of with knives and bayonets. A few succeeded in breaking the rope with which they were tied to their companions and running away, but most of these were pursued and killed. A few succeeded in getting away, probably not more than two or three. Among those who were killed was

the

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-4-50 FROM W. R. [illegible], STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

-4-

the Treasurer of the American College. Many others
erroneously men were among the number. No charges of
any kind had ever been made against any of these men.
They were simply arrested and killed as part of the
general plan to dispose of the Armenian race.

Last night several hundred more men, including
both men arrested by the civil authorities and those en-
rolled as soldiers, were taken in a different
direction and murdered in a similar manner. It is
said this happened at a place but two hours' distant
from here. I shall ride out that way some day when
things become a little quieter and try to verify it
for myself.

The same thing has been true systematically
in the villages. A few weeks ago about three hun-
dred men were gathered together at Yabma and Eshoost,
two villages four and five hours' distant from here,
and then taken up into the mountains and massacred.
This seems to be fully established. Many women from
those villages have been here since and told about it.
There have been rumors of similar occurrences in
other places.

There seems to be a definite plan to dispose
of all the Armenian men, but after the deportation of
the families during the first few days of the enforce-
ment of the order it was announced that women and
children with no men in the family might remain here
for the present and many hoped that the worst was over.
The American missionaries began considering plans to
aid the women and children who might be left here with

no

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. R. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

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no number of copies. It was thought that perhaps an orphanage could be opened to care for some of the children especially those who had been born in Armenia and then brought here by their parents and also those who belonged to parents who had been connected in some way with the American Mission and schools. There would be plenty of opportunity, although there might not be sufficient means, to care for children who remained here or in the exiles from other Vilayets and whose parents had died on the way. I went to see the Vali about this matter yesterday and came out with a flat refusal. He said we could visit these people if we wished to do so, but the Government was establishing orphanages for the children and we could not undertake any work of that nature. An hour after I left the Vali the announcement was made that all the Armenians remaining here, including women and children must leave on July 12th.

The evident plan of the Government is to give no opportunity for any educational or religious work to be done here by foreign missionaries. Some Armenian women will be taken as Moslem wives and some children will be brought up as Moslems, but none of them will be allowed to come under foreign influences. The country is to be purely Moslem and nothing else, some of the missionaries think they would like to remain here and try to work among Moslems. I not only think it would be very dangerous for them to undertake it but do not believe they will be allowed to do anything along that line. I shall not be surprised, so

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CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-48 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

-4-

I have said before, if all the American missionaries are ordered to leave here in the near future. If they are not, they will be so effectually prevented from doing any kind of work that it will be entirely useless for them to remain here. Furthermore, they will be annoyed in many ways by the local officials. I do not think for a moment that they will be allowed to open any of the schools again and it is quite probable that the hospital may be ordered closed. It is very probable also that both the school and the hospital buildings may be seized by the Government. It seems certain that there will not be any work for them to do here and that they will not be permitted to do any work.

Under the circumstances, I think the only wise and safe thing for them to do is to consider the matter of leaving here, temporarily at least, as soon as it may be possible. I realize that it is a serious matter for them to abandon their work, but the present situation is serious too and I fully believe there is nothing else for them to do. It would probably not be best for all of them to leave together, but I am going to advise that some of them leave as soon as it may be safe to go. In the meantime I earnestly recommend that the Embassy bring to the attention of Mr. Peet and the board the possible necessity of all of them leaving here.

I do not think that any of them should go now. In fact some of them have been quite firmly of the opinion that one or should go at once for a pur-

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. L. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

purpose of trying to raise a relief fund for these unfortunate people.
To go now would be almost certain death, with bands of Kurds awaiting travelers on every road. I asked the Vali, however, if it would be all right for some of the Americans to leave here now to go to Constantinople and then to America and he said very plainly that it would not be safe. He said that no matter how much of a guard he gave them it would be dangerous for them to travel at the present moment and advised waiting a few weeks. This confirms the general fear as to the fate of those who are sent away from here. It also indicated that perhaps the authorities do not wish any real harm to befall the Americans. On the other hand, the Vali intimated that possibly the Americans might not be permitted to leave here. Some of them think that we know too much about what is happening in the interior of Turkey and the authorities do not intend to let any Americans leave here alive to tell about it. I do not think that, but I do think the life of every American here is in danger and that the danger is increasing. If all of the missionaries can get away safely I shall feel greatly relieved. It is not only that the present situation is very critical, but they are constantly doing things that are more or less imprudent. The entire colony may suffer for the imprudence of one person. It is quite natural that they should sympathize with the people among whom they have been working and want to aid and protect them, but there is great danger of carrying their zeal too far and getting into trouble themselves.

With

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-49 FROM W. H. ...ERSON, STATE DEPT
BY ... DATE ...

With reference to the need of funds for the relief of these exiles, which I mentioned in my telegrams of June 27th and 28th and my despatch of June 29th, I am inclined to believe that there will be no means of raising funds. It looks as though there were not going to be any people who can be helped. All who are sent away will probably be killed or die on the road within the next few months and the women and children who are left will probably have to become Moslems.

My attention has just been called to the fact that the post-office at Khanouret-el-Aris has refused to pay out money to the Americans that has been sent them from Erzroum and Erzingan for the exiles who have come here. It is probable that the Government will confiscate this money. I do not know whether the Embassy would care to take any measures about this or not. The money is addressed to the Americans, but it is intended for the Armenian exiles.

Embassy's telegrams Nos. 18 and 20 have been received. I have seen the Vali about the naturalized American citizens and their children and about the consular staff. He said he had received no instructions about them, as I telegraphed this morning. I have now just received word that the consular staff and two or three women whose husbands are in America may stay here for the present. There seems to be nothing very definite about any of it. I shall be very glad to have those women leave as soon as it is reasonably safe for them to go. I hope it can be arranged for the

employees

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-4-82 FROM W. E. LAWRENCE, POLICE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

[illegible] of the Council, however, [illegible]
personality, or at least on [illegible]
Councillors. It would be impossible to [illegible]
to take their place.

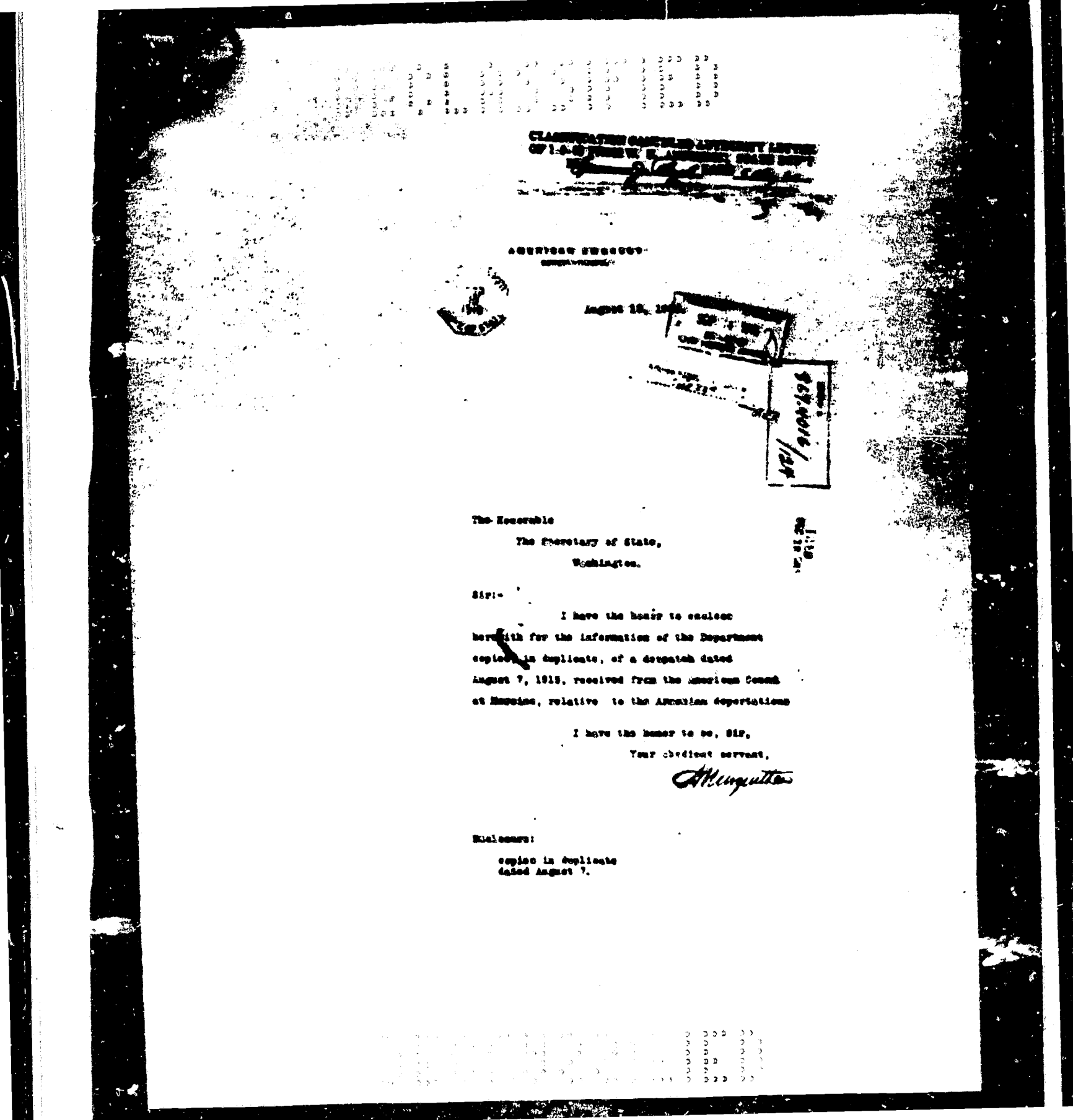
I have the honour to be,

Sir,

your obedient servant,

(Signed) [illegible]

Council.



AMERICAN EMBASSY

August 18, 1915.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:-

I have the honor to enclose herewith for the information of the Department copies in duplicate, of a despatch dated August 7, 1915, received from the American Consul at Hankow, relative to the Armenian deportations.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Enclosure:

copies in duplicate
dated August 7.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-61 FROM W. E. ADDISON, STATE DEPT

Cable.

No. 487

AMERICAN CONSULATE,

Harsina, Turkey, August 7, 1915.

The Honorable

Henry Morgenthau,

American Ambassador,

Constantinople, Turkey.

Sir:-

I have the honor to inform you that two days ago an order was received here for the immediate deportation of the entire Armenian population of Harsina consisting of about 1800 souls. Yesterday nearly three hundred persons were sent to Adana and to-day many more have been ordered to be ready to leave. In anticipation of their deportation the Armenians are selling all their non-portable goods for a song. Sewing machines sold for 4 Medjidies, iron bedsteads for a few piasters, etc. The Government is allowing each person only a few metallics per day for food and transports only a little baggage. The present destination of the deported persons is Adana. Apart from their actual distress and misery the terror of these people is indescribable. Stories of the massacre of thousands of Armenians in the interior now reach here. Some of these appear to be well founded but I presume the Embassy has been fully informed of what has transpired in the regions of Cesarea, Sivas and Diarbekir not to mention Van where the Armenians themselves are reported to be in control.

The local deportation order appears to have been hastened by the operations of some bands of Armenian outlaws who are

again

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LET LETTER
OF 1-4-60 FROM W. B. ARMISTEAD, STATE DEPT

said to have attacked villages near the border of this vilayet and Bitolj. The Vali has gone to the scene of the alleged outrages. The co-incident arrival of six British and French warships at Alexandretta several days ago is also stated to be connected with this matter.

A German orphanage at Marsovio has been ordered closed by the authorities and the Americans here are apprehensive of similar action towards them if the deportations continue. For the present however the authorities show every consideration to the American institutions and their inmates. The two American ladies are still in Hadjin although write that they prefer to remain there for the present rather than assume the risks of travel as the outlaws are active in that neighborhood.

A French warship visited this port yesterday but left without taking any action.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed): Edward I. Nathan

American Consul

800.

RECORDED FROM CHARGE

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-69 JOHN W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT.
By [illegible] Date [illegible]

No. 257

AMERICAN CONSULATE
Smyrna, Turkey.

Subject: Armenian Question.

FILED
DEC 30 1915
DEPT. OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith two Memorandums concerning the measures which are being put in force by the Ottoman Authorities against the Armenians of the interior of Asia Minor. One of these as will be seen, is by Mr. Walter M. Geddes who recently returned from Aleppo and who died in this city on Saturday. The other memorandum is by an equally credible person, but whose name I have not mentioned for the reason that he is still residing in Turkey and if it should become known through tampering with the mail or in any other manner, his situation here would become extremely precarious. I have also other statements from eye-witnesses, not natives of [illegible], of the highest standing in the religious and educational world, which leads me to believe that what is now taking place in Armenian Turkey, surpasses in deliberate and long-premeditated horror and in extent anything that has hitherto happened in the history of the world. One eye-witness saw many of the Armenian men killed, chopped down, as he explained to me, with axes after their hands were tied. The fate of those so killed is comparatively happy. As will appear from this report, [illegible] are driven [illegible]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-49 FROM W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

hordes sometimes consisting of many thousands, without food or shelter or water, until they die. There seems to be no fixed place to which they are driven and no ultimate place of rest. They are simply kept on the move. From what all these people, worthy of the highest credence, tell me, from 800,000 to 1,000,000 human beings are now going through this process of slow and hideous torture, and the movement instead of waning is increasing in ferocity, so that before it is finally over, in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 people will be affected, a very large percentage of whom will certainly perish as they are driven along for weeks and months without food or shelter and without the means of procuring these.

It is a touching thing that according to reports, there is a widespread hope, faint perhaps but yet existent among these people, that the United States of America will somehow come to their relief.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

American Consul General.

Enclosures: As stated.

File No. 800.

DOCUMENT FOR CANCEL

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-52 FROM W. B. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

[illegible]

I left here on the 18th [illegible] 1915 for Aleppo. I first saw the Armenians at Afion Karahissar where there was a big encampment - probably of 10,000 people - who had come down from the Black Sea. They were encamped in tents made of material of all descriptions, and their condition was deplorable.

The next place I saw them was at Konia, also a large encampment. There I saw the first brutality, I saw a woman and her baby separated from her husband ; he was put on our train while she was forcibly held behind and kept from getting on the train. The next place where there was a large encampment was at Osmanieh where there was said to be about 50,000; their condition was terrible. They were camped on both sides of the railway track extending fully half a mile on each side. Here they had two wells from which they could get water, one of which was very far from the encampment, the other at the railway station platform. At daybreak the Armenians came in crowds, women and children and old men, to the well to get water. They fought among themselves for a place at the well and the gens-d'armes to keep them in order, whipped several people. I saw women and children repeatedly struck with whips and sticks in the hands of the gendarmes. Later, I had occasion to pass through the camp on the way to the town of Osmanieh and had an opportunity to see the condition of the people. They were living in tents like those above described and their condition was miserable. The site of the encampment had been used several times by different caravans of Armenians and no attempt at sanitation had been made by either the Turks or the Armenians themselves with the result that the ground was in a deplorable condition and the stench in the early morning [illegible] beyond description. At Osmanieh they were /

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-83 JOHN W. S. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

were selling their possessions in order to obtain money to buy food. One old man begged me to buy his silver cigarette-box for a piastre in order that he might be able to buy some bread.

From Cemerish, I travelled by carriage to Rajo and passed thousands of Armenians en route to Aleppo. They were going in ox-carts, on horseback, donkey-back and on foot, the most of them children, women and old men. I spoke to several of these people, some of them had been educated in the American Mission Schools. They told me that they had travelled for two months. They were without money and food and several expressed their wish that they could die rather than go on and endure the sufferings that they were undergoing. The people on the road were carrying with them practically all their household possessions and those who had no carts or animals were carrying them on their backs. It was not unusual to see a woman with a big pack wrapped up in a mattress and a little child of a few months old on top of the pack. They were mostly bareheaded and their faces were swollen from the sun and exposure. Many had no shoes on and some had their feet wrapped in old pieces of rags which they had torn from their clothing. At Intily there was an encamp ment of about 10,000 and at Hadma a large encampment of 150,000. At this place [illegible] to their encampment, were Turkish troops who exacted 'backsheish' from them before they would let them go on the road to Aleppo. Many who had no money had had to stay in this c amp since their arrival there about two months before. I spoke with several Armenians here and they told me the same stories of brutal treatment and robbery at the hands of the gendarmes in charge, as I had heard all along the road. They had to go at least half a mile for water from this encampment and the condition of the camp was filthy. [illegible] Hadma or Aleppo, I witnessed the worst sights of the whole trip. Here the people began to play out

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-48 FROM W. R. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

out in the intense heat and no water and I passed several who were prostrate actually dying of thirst. One woman whom I assisted was in a deplorable condition and unconscious from thirst and exhaustion and further on I saw two young girls who had become so exhausted that they had fallen on the road and lay with their already swollen faces exposed to the sun. The road for a great distance was being repaired and covered with crushed stone; on one side of the road was a footpath but many of the Armenians were so dazed from fatigue and exposure that they did not see this footpath and were walking - and many barefooted - on this crushed stone; their feet as a result were bleeding. The destination of all these Armenians is Aleppo. Here they are kept crowded in all available vacant houses, khans, Armenian churches, courtyards and open lots. Their condition in Aleppo is beyond description. I personally visited several of the places where they are kept and found them starving and dying by the hundred every day. In one vacant house which I visited, I saw women, and children and men all in the same room lying on the floor so close together that it was impossible to walk between them. Here they had been for months, those who had survived, and the condition of the floor was filthy. Many were lying in their own excrement.

The British Consulate was filled with these exiles and from this place, the dead were removed almost every hour. Coffin-makers throughout the city were working late into the night making rough boxes for the dead whose relatives or friends could afford to give them decent burial. Most of the the dead were simply thrown into two wheeled carts which made daily round to all the places where the Armenians were confined. These carts were open at first but afterwards covers were made for them. An Armenian physician whom I know and who is treating [illegible] these suffering Armenians who have

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-4-60 FROM W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE 6-16-60

have become ill through exposure on the trip, hunger and thirst, told me that there are hundreds dying daily in Aleppo from starvation and the result of the brutal treatment and exposure that they have undergone on the journey from their native places. Many of these suffering Armenians refuse also saying that the little money so obtained will only prolong their sufferings and they prefer to die. From Aleppo those who are able to pay are sent by train to Damascus, those who have no money are sent over the road to the Interior towards Deir-El-Zor. In Damascus I found conditions practically the same as in Aleppo: and here hundreds are dying every day. From Damascus, they are sent still further south into the Hauran where their fate is unknown. Several Turks whom I interviewed, told me that the motive of this exile was to exterminate the race and in fact on [illegible] I see any [illegible] giving alms to Armenians, it being considered a criminal offence for anyone to aid them.

I remained in Damascus and Aleppo about a month leaving for Smyrna on the 26th October. All along the road, I met thousands of these unfortunate exiles still coming into Aleppo. The sights I witnessed on this trip were more pitiful than those I had seen on my trip to Aleppo. There seems to be no end to the caravan which moves over the mountain ridge from Antakli south. Throughout the day from sunrise to sunset, the road as far as one can see, is crowded with these exiles. Just out side of Tarsus, I saw a dead woman lying by the roadside. A further on passed two more dead women, one of whom was being carried by two gendarmes away from the roadside to be buried. Her legs and arms were so emaciated that the bones were [illegible] through her flesh and her face was swollen and purple from exposure. Further along, I saw two gendarmes carrying a dead child between them and, from the road where they had dug a grave [illegible] of the villagers and refugees as who follow the corpse [illegible] have prayed [illegible] the [illegible] during the

further

[redacted]

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM

[redacted] THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

Speaking generally on the question of the expulsion of the Armenians from their native places, the Embassy is perhaps not aware that they have all been exiled from the towns in Northern Armenia and Anatolia, such as Harput, Diarbekir, Bitlis, Mooeul, Marash, Zeitoun, Sivas, Erzeroum, etc. They are all being sent south and are gradually moved on from one place to another until they reach the borders of the Syrian desert. They are met with as far south as Meyadin, an Arab village one day south of Deir-El-Zor, or 7 days carriage journey south of Aleppo. Practically all the towns in Syria, Aleppo, Damascus, etc., are full of these exiles whose condition is most pitiable as may be imagined when one considers that some of them have been four or even six months on the road from their native place passing through country which is practically barren and devoid of any means of obtaining proper sustenance. The Armenians are allowed to accumulate in a town until the numbers become so large that it is necessary to move them on to some other town further south and the population commence to protest against their presence. One sees them in Aleppo on pieces of waste ground, in old buildings, court-yards and alleyways, and their condition is simply indescribable. They are totally without food and are dying of starvation. If one looks into these places where they are living, one simply sees a huddled mass of dying and dead all mixed up with

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 JOHN W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

with diseased, ragged clothing, rotten and human excrement and it is impossible to find out who the person was and describe it as being a living person. A number of open carts went to parade the streets looking out for corpses and it was a common sight to see one of these carts pass containing anything up to 10 or 12 human bodies, all terribly emaciated. These carts have since been provided with a lid and painted black and one constantly sees bodies mostly of women and children being dragged out of courtyards and alleyways and thrown into them as one would throw a sack of coal. It is impossible to gauge the number of deaths daily but in the Armenian Cemetery, trenches are dug and the bodies are simply brought there and thrown in indiscriminately. A number of priests remain at the cemetery all day and perform some kind of funeral rite as the so-called interment is made. Every now and again, an order is given for the town to be cleaned up and the gens-d'armes and municipal guards go round and drive out the Armenians from their places of refuge, hustle them down to the railway station and pack them into the trucks like cattle and forward them to Damascus and different towns in the Hejaz. Occasionally, a large caravan is collected and put on the road to Bel-El-Zer. Unnecessary brutality is shown in the expulsion of these people, the majority of whom are simply living skeletons, and one sees emaciated and hunger-stricken women and children beaten with whips like dogs in order to make them move.

If one walks around certain quarters of Aleppo at night, one sees an indescribable "something" lying on the ground, one hears a groan and knows that it is one of these human wrecks who the following morning will be thrown into a cart and taken to the Cemetery. Many of these people refuse to accept any help whatever and say that they prefer to die and end their suffering rather than prolong it since

the /

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 JOHN W. S. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT.
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

the future gives no hope of any alleviation. The stories they tell are beyond description. When they were expelled from any of the towns in Northern Asia Minor, all the men between the ages of 15 and 60 were shot down before the eyes of the women and children, either before starting or some little way on the road. Some idea of the destruction of their numbers may be obtained when one learns that of an expedition of 2,500 which left a village in the vicinity of Harput, only 600 arrived in Deir-El-Zor. One learns from their own stories that many of the women drowned their children in the river 'en route since there was no visible means of nourishing them and practically every family has been depleted through the men being killed, the children dying en route and many of the girls having been carried off by roving bands of Kurdish and Arab robbers on the way. One boy of 14 years old from Diarbekir described how his father and mother were shot, two of his sisters were dragged away en route and there remained to him only two little sisters of the whole family. English-speaking girl students of the American College in Harput told stories of the torture of various priests and professors in Harput in order to make them divulge the location of supposed arms and ammunition. One girl who was a nurse in the Military Hospital swore that one of their professors was attended to by her after having had the hair torn from his face and his finger and toe-nails pulled out. One Armenian priest, said to have suffered the same tortures and to have finally been burned alive, the veracity of this, however, seems impossible in the twentieth century. It is no uncommon thing for women and girls who have any claim to good looks, to be violated by the different Kurds and Arabs with whom they meet on the way and against whom it is impossible for them

to /

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. E. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

to defend themselves. Practically all these expeditions are composed of women and children and out between the ages of 15 and 45 are rarely met with. Many of these people have been considerably well off and have no doubt taken large sums of money reserved on their persons. This of course became known to the gens-d'armes and resulted in roads and they were despoiled of practically everything, not only their money but their jewellery, clothing, bedding and everything else. Outside practically every town from Mayadin on the Euphrates up to Ras el, one sees a camp containing anything from 3000 up to 20,000 of these refugees and one can imagine that such a large crowd of people being thrown on to a population which already finds it difficult to obtain employment and food, would cause the position to become intolerable and they must naturally die of starvation since food cannot be found for such extra numbers.

On all the main routes, one finds a continual stream of refugees dragging themselves wearily along going for ever southwards, their ultimate destination unknown, apparently with some dim hope of at last reaching some place where they will be able to live in comparative comfort and find nourishment. If they knew, however, what they would find and what would ultimately happen to them, they would no doubt prefer to simply sit down and wait for death without going any further.

One woman in Aleppo was raving mad owing to having lost her child and being unable to ascertain his whereabouts

Any attempts to help the refugees are immediately nipped in the bud by the Authorities and spies are continually watching the American Consulate. Several Armenians who called there were afterwards put in prison and one woman was cruelly beaten by a gens-d'armes after being seen to leave the Consulate.

CLASSIFICATION CHANGED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. R. [illegible], STATE DEPT
By [illegible]

-2-

Towards the end of September, the Armenians in Urfa were ordered to leave the town and to go outside of the ramparts in all the towns of this region have been. They refused to leave however, and finally orders were given to expel them forcibly and if they offered any resistance to take the necessary measures. They strongly entrenched themselves in their quarter, built barricades, made subterranean passages from one part of the quarter to another and generally took every measure possible to defend themselves against attack. A force of about 6,000 soldiers including artillery, under the command of Fakhri Pasha commenced operations against them and their quarter was bombarded during the first weeks of October. The Armenians were all supplied with rifles and ammunition and had even managed to obtain mitrailleuses. They had apparently sufficient food to withstand a siege of some duration. We heard during the middle of October that seven officers and about 400 men had been killed on the Turkish side. By some means or other, the Armenians managed to obtain possession of Mr. Leslie, the ex American Consular Agent in Urfa, and seven belligerents who had been interned in Urfa. These eight men were retained by them in their quarter as hostages Mr. Jackson reported the detention of Mr. Leslie to the [illegible], which of course took the necessary steps in the matter and about the 20th October, a telegram was received in cipher from Mr. Leslie reporting that he was out of the Armenian quarter and safe. But [illegible] to the seven belligerents could not be ascertained.

The position of the belligerents who are interned in Urfa is naturally somewhat critical and has caused considerable anxiety to the American Consular officials there. We [illegible] urgently that even [illegible] should be tried to find some place where the [illegible]

-2-

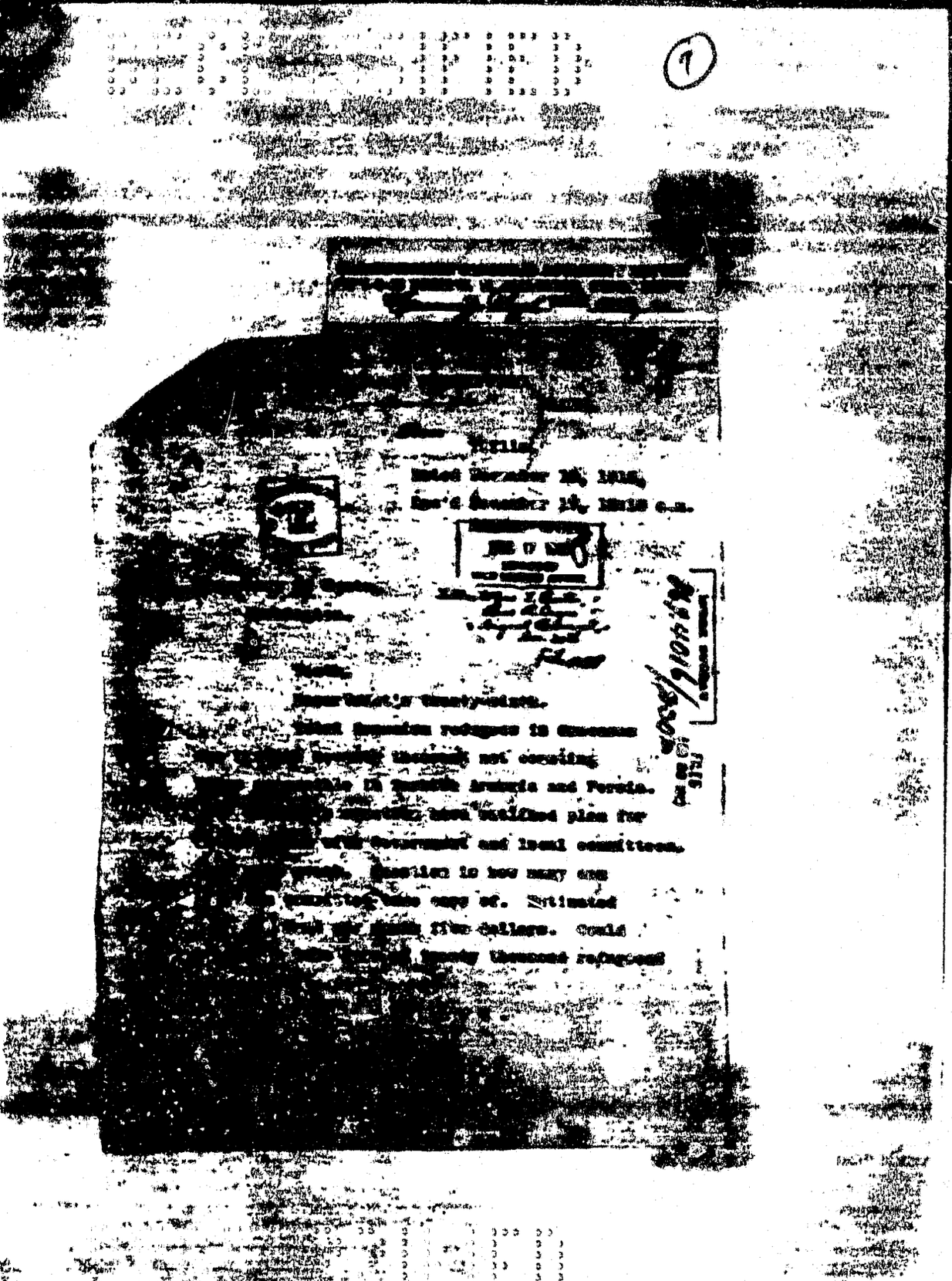
[redacted]

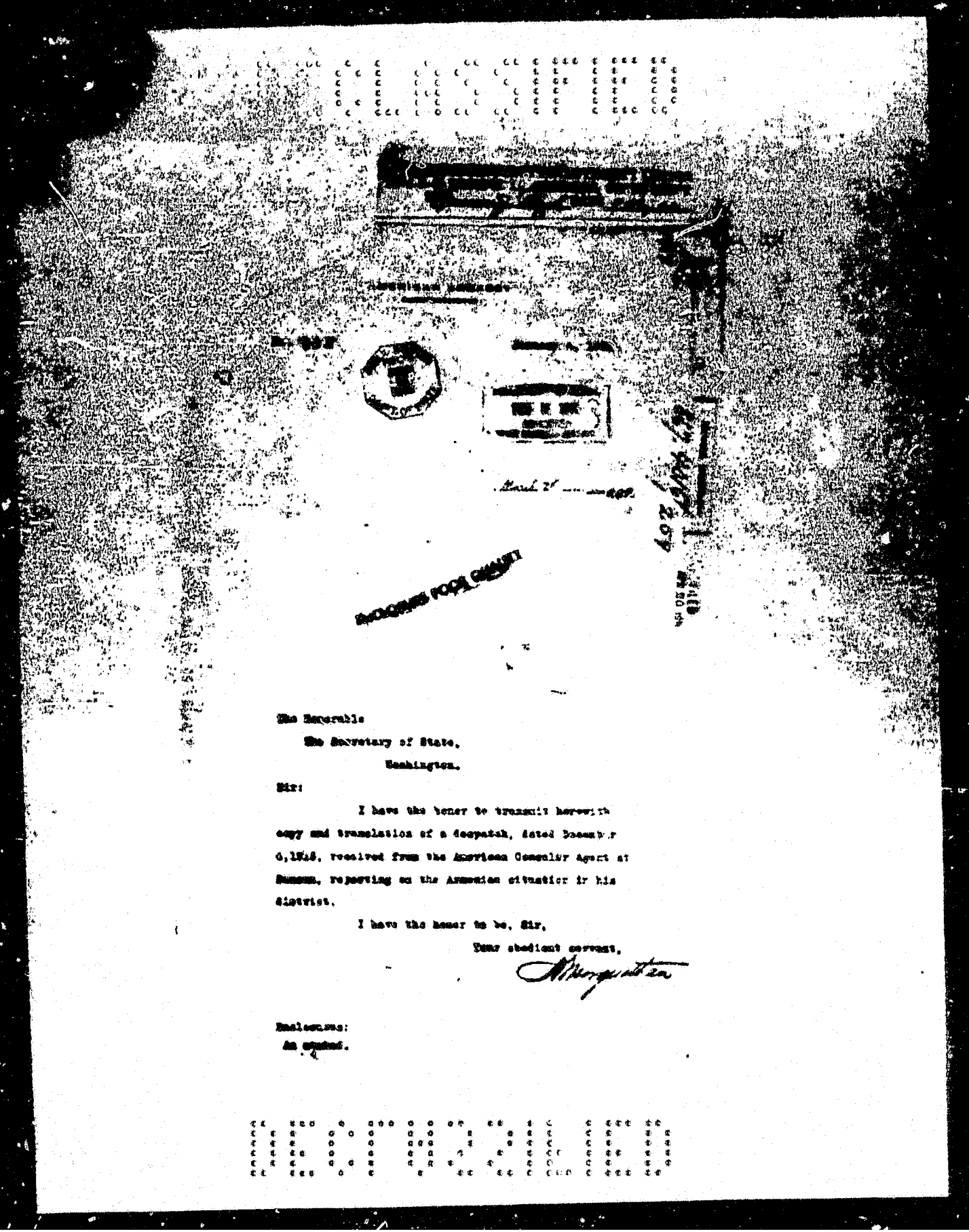
[redacted]

-2-

in greater safety.

Mr. Jamieson, the American Consul in Aleppo, has been unable to report the above facts owing to the authorities not allowing him to send any sealed mail to the Embassy, presumably with the object of preventing any report being sent on these happenings.





The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith copy and translation of a despatch, dated December 6, 1915, received from the American Consular Agent at Samsun, reporting on the Armenian situation in his district.

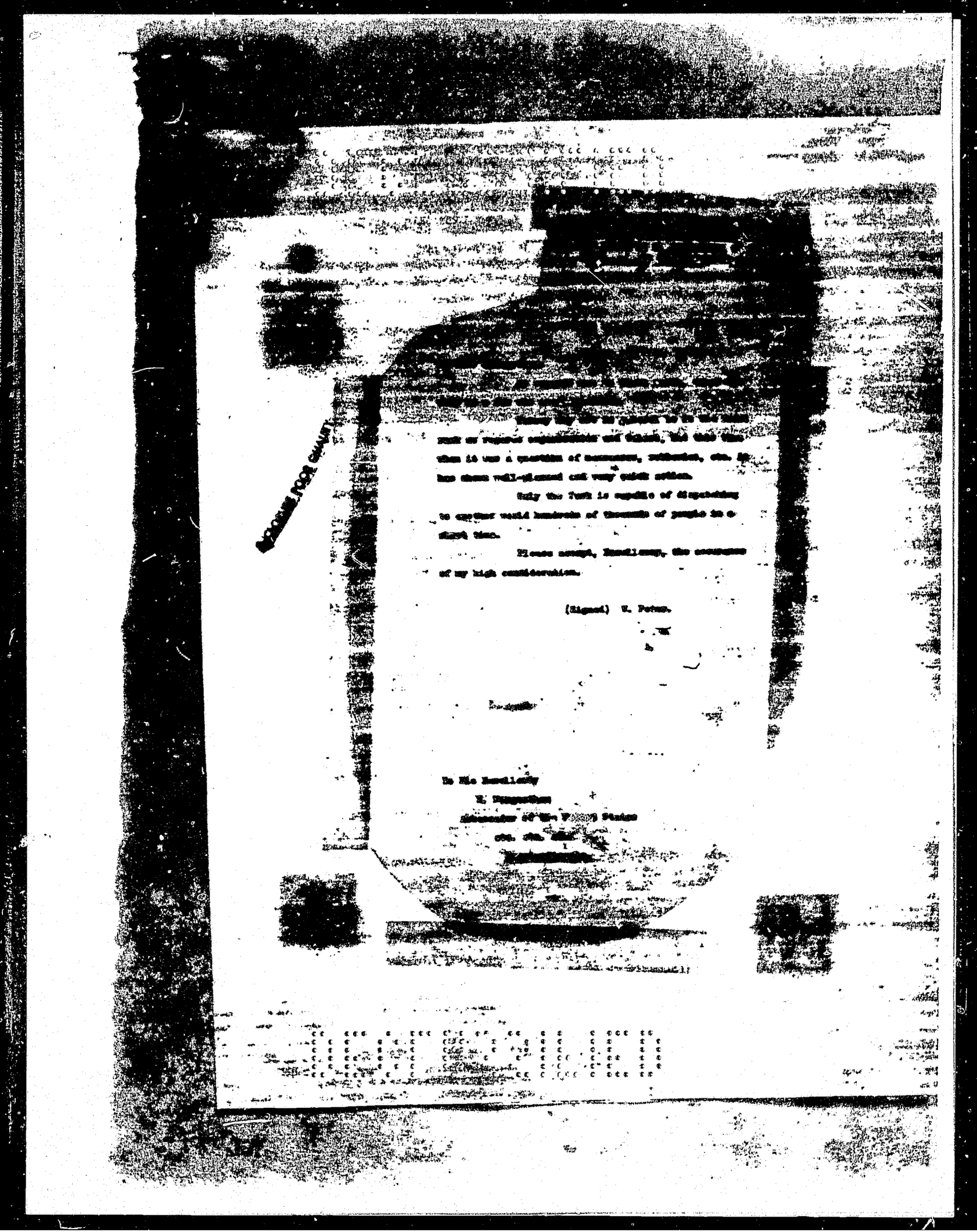
I have the honor to be, Sir,

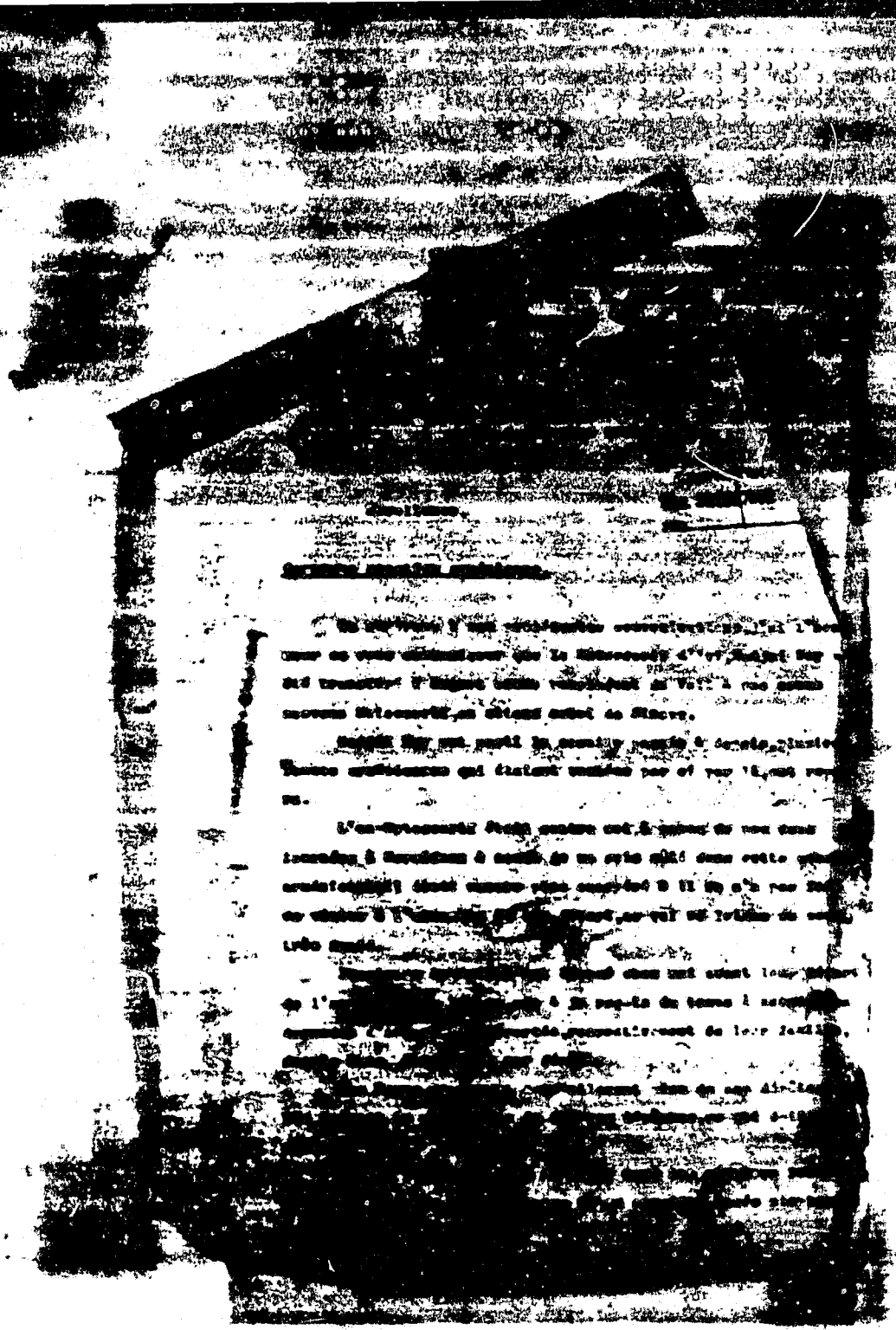
Your obedient servant,

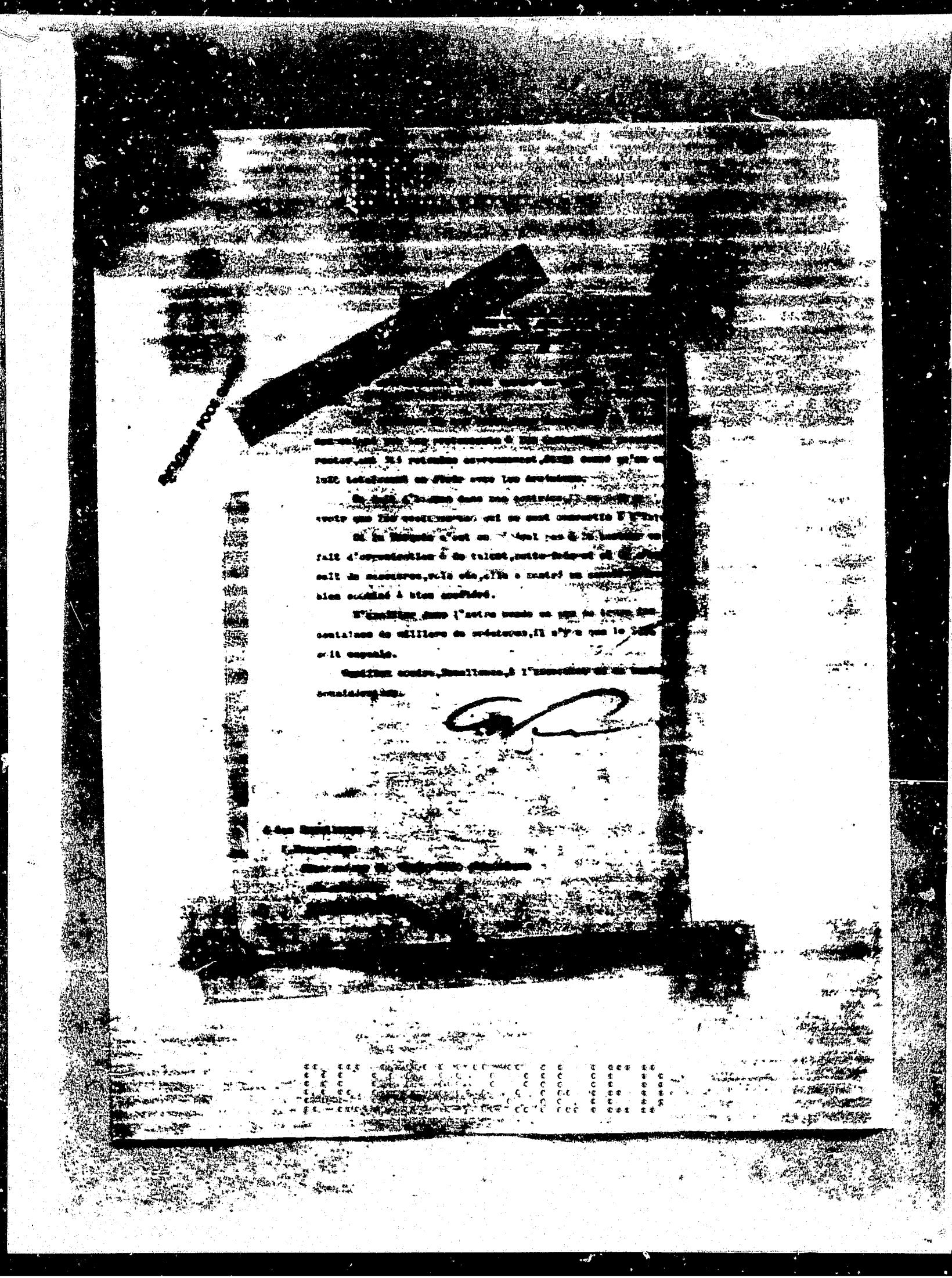
Enclosures:

As stated.

[redacted]







[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Secretary of State,
Washington.

928, August 13, 12 noon.

My 924, August 11, 11 p m.

German Ambassador has made strong protest to the Sublime Porte.

I am told that German Government seriously objects to statements made by Turks throughout the interior that the anti-Armenian measures originated from the Germans.

MORGENTHAU

American Ambassador

Note by Telegraph Room:
No.924 not yet received.

Deciphered by

OF 1-2-43 FROM W. R. ARMSTRONG, STATE DEPT

TELEGRAM SENT. Green Cipher

Department of State, Washington, August 10, 1943.

Amembassy,

Constantinople.

955. Your 924 August eleventh, and 929, twelfth, Mme. protest by German Ambassador/improved conditions.

Lansing.

867.4016/90.91

S AMP/ESP

4F

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-48 FROM W. R. ANDERSON, STATE DEP'T
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED GREEN CIPHER

AUG 1915 DEPT OF STATE

From Constantinople
Dated July 31, 1915,
Rec'd August 3, 10 AM.

AUG 3 1915

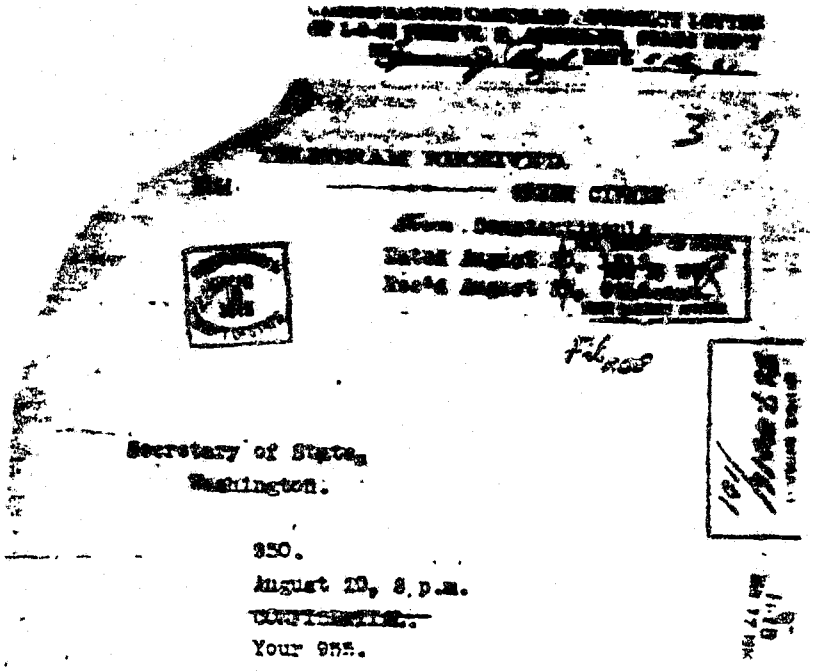
Secretary of State,
Washington.

893, July 31, 5 p m.

My 841 and 858. Doctor Lepsius, President of German-Orient Mission which maintains six Armenian orphan asylums in Turkey, has information from reliable source that Armenians, mostly women and children, deported from the Erzerum district, have been massacred near Kemakh between Erzinghan and Harput. Similar reports comes from other sources showing that but few of these unfortunate people will ever reach their stated destination. Their lot inexpressibly pitiable. The Doctor proposes to submit matter to International Red Cross for common action to try to induce Germany to demand cessation of these horrors. He earnestly requests access to information Embassy has on file. Will give him if Department has no objection.

MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador

Paraphrased by



Secretary of State,
Washington.

950.

August 20, 8 p.m.

~~CONFIDENTIAL.~~

Your 955.

German Ambassador's protest has not improved conditions in the interior. Instructions from German Government to their Ambassador to demand from the Sublime Porte ~~positive (-ly)~~ deportations cease and all possible reparation be promptly made by ~~them~~. Other influences now being exerted improve the situation. Bulgarians have made strong representations.

MORGENTHAU,
AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

(# Apparent Omission).

Paraphrased by

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-6-53 FROM W. R. ARNOLD, STATE DEPT.
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

3 file

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 22 1915

Constantinople

Dated Oct. 19, 1915

Rec'd. Oct. 22, 2.15 p.m.

OCT 22
Annex by Mr. Carter
Filed

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1159, Oct. 19, 8 p.m.

German Ambassador informed me that an assertion has been made in British House of Lords by Lord Crew that Germany has influenced Turkish persecution of Armenians and that there was testimony of American eye witness supporting this. He requested that I deny this and attest that Germans have protested against the atrocities repeatedly. German Ambassador also stated that LONDON WESTMINSTER GAZETTE had reported that Rossler, German Consul General at Aleppo, had influenced and led anti Armenian movement there. The Ambassador said he knows our Consul at Aleppo had reported [illegible] Rossler's helpfulness to Armenians and asked my official corroboration of this also. On my firm refusal to take any step or make any statement in the matter the Ambassador stated he would telegraph in cipher to Rossler to

ask

FILED
12:35 PM

Enciphered by

[redacted]

-2-

ask Jackson to make statement.

An new interview by German Ambassador that Jackson wishes us to be [illegible] whether he should state factual facts. I request your instructions as to the course to be pursued by Jackson.

[redacted] AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

[illegible] Omission.

Deciphered by [redacted]

CLASSIFICATION CHECKED AGAINST LETTER OF 1-8-52 FROM W. H. ARMBRUSTER, STATE DEPT.

DATE

TELEGRAM SENT.

Department of State,

Washington, October 30, 1952.

Ambassy,

Constantinople.

1265 Your 1189, nineteenth/ Department approves your/ refusal to/ make any statement in matter/ Jacobson should/ also/ make no statement/

Lovett.

711.56/10-1952

867.4016/177

S AEP/KEP

AP

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED OR CHANGED TO [redacted]
BY E.O. [redacted], SECTION 6, U.S. [redacted], [redacted] DEPT
BY [redacted] DATE [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Sept. 28, 1915.

Being what Informa would probably state, I'm a unable any statement is to be directed by the following quotation from his confidential despatch to the Department [illegible] August 30th: [illegible]

"The situation is becoming more critical daily, as there is no telling where this thing will end. The Germans are being blamed on every hand, for if they have not directly ordered this wholesale slaughter (for it is nothing less than the extermination of the Armenian race) they at least condone it. Private German individuals openly approve the whole scheme and condemn the Armenians on every occasion."

AP

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-4-56 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY [signature] DATE [illegible]

corpse away from the roadside and bury it.

The open spaces around the khans en route are used as camping places for the Armenians and the ground is littered with refuse and human excrement, the stench from which is unbearable. I saw many people who had been in good circumstances forced to lie in this filth. Their clothes were rags and many had no shoes. The mornings were cold and many were dying from exposure. There are very few young men in these caravans, the majority are woman and children accompanied by a few old men over 50 years of age. At Mairemeglu, I talked with a woman who was demented from the sufferings she had undergone. She told me that her husband and father had both been killed before her eyes and that she had been forced for three days to walk without rest. She had with her two little children and all had been without bread for a day. I gave her some money which she told me would probably be taken from her before the day was over.

Turks and Kurds meet these caravans as they pass through the country and sell them food at exorbitant prices. I saw a small boy about 7 years old riding on a donkey with his baby brother in his arms. They were all that was left of his family. Many of these people go for days without bread and they become emaciated beyond description. I saw several fall from starvation and only at certain places along this road is there water. Many die of thirst. Some of the Armenians who can afford it hire carriages. These are paid for in advance and the prices charged are exorbitant. At many places like Bozanti for example, where there is an encampment of Turkish soldiers, there is not enough bread for these Armenians and only two hours from Bozanti I met a woman who was crying for bread. She told me that she had been in Bozanti for two days and was unable to obtain anything to eat except what travelers like myself had given her. Many of the beasts of burden belonging to the Armenians

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY
OF L-6 [illegible] W. H. ANDERSON, PUBLIC HEALTH
BY [illegible] DATE 6-24-46

die of starvation. It is not an unusual sight to see an Armenian removing a pack from the dead animal and putting it on to his own shoulders. Many Armenians told me that when they are allowed to rest at night, they get no sleep because of the pangs of hunger and cold. These people walk throughout the whole day at a shuffling gait and for hours do not speak to one another. At one place where I stopped along the road for lunch, I was surrounded by a crowd of little children all crying for bread. Many of these little tots are obliged to walk barefooted along the road and many of them carry a little pack on their backs. They are all emaciated, their clothes are in rags and their hair in a filthy condition. The filth has given rise to millions of flies and I saw several babies' faces and eyes covered with these insects, their mothers being too exhausted to brush the away. Diseases broke out in several places along the road and in Aleppo, several cases of typhus fever among the Armenians were reported when I left.

Many families have been separated, the men being sent in one direction and the women and children in another. I saw one woman who was with child lying in the middle of the road crying and over her stood a gendarme threatening her if she did not get up and walk. Many children are born along the way and most of these die as their mothers have no nourish ment for them.

None of these people have any idea where they are going or why they are being exiled. They go day after day along the road with the hope that they might somewhere reach a place where they may be allowed to rest, and I saw several old men carrying on their backs the tools of their trade, probably with the hope that they may some day settle down somewhere.

CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL
OF [illegible]

The road over the Taurus Mountains in places is most difficult and oftentimes cross convergences drawn by riffraff, camels and milk cows are unable to make the grades and are abandoned and overturned by the gendarmes into the ravine below. The animals are turned loose. I saw several carts piled high with baggage on the top of which were many Armenians, break down, and throw their occupants in the road. One of the drivers, who was a Turk, and who had collected an advance from the people whom he was driving, considered it a huge joke when one woman broke her leg from such a fall.

There seems to be no cessation of the streams of these Armenians pouring down through the north, from Angora and the regions round the Black Sea. Their condition grows worse every day. The sights that I saw on my return trip were worse than those on my trip going and now that the cold weather and winter rains are setting in, deaths are more numerous. The roads in some places are almost impassable.

P820177-1634

Congress of the United States
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

December 1, 1982

ACTION
FILE

The Honorable Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary
Congressional Relations
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Moore:

For your reference I am enclosing the self-explanatory letter of November 22 which I have received from the Armenian Assembly of America expressing disagreement with a statement in the August, 1982 Department of State Bulletin.

Your cooperation in reviewing this matter and reporting to me would be appreciated.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chairman

Enclosure

11/20/82

CJZ:gbg

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS
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DEC 3 PM 2 21
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ARMENIAN ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA

1420 "K" STREET, N. W. • SUITE 101 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 393-3434

November 22, 1982

RECEIVED

NOV 29 1982

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Honorable Clement J. Zablocki
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Zablocki:

The materials listed below were prepared in response to a statement made and subsequently reaffirmed by the Department of State in the August, 1982, edition of the Bulletin, which read, in part, "Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people." The Department's assertion is tantamount to U.S. denial of the Armenian Genocide. Given your prior statements commemorating the first genocide of the 20th century, we thought that you would share our concern about the Department's action.

1. Department of State Remarks on the Armenian Genocide, August, 1982.
2. United States Vote on the Armenian Genocide During a Debate of the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, March, 1979.
3. World Press Reaction on Turkish and Israeli Intervention to Prevent Discussion of the Armenian Genocide During the International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide, June, 1982.
4. U.S. Campaign in Support of an American Mandate for the Republic of Armenia, 1918-1927.

This abuse of Armenian and American history is totally unacceptable to the Armenian Assembly and the entire Armenian-American community. Regardless of immediate political interests, the history of the Armenian people and the proud record of the United States intervention [illegible] American assistance on behalf of the Armenians cannot be altered or ignored.

It is futile for free nations such as the United States to join with Turkey in its effort to change history. Documentation of the Armenian Genocide and the role of Turkey's central government in it is both exhaustive and overwhelming.

The Armenian Assembly fully expects an unambiguous retraction in the next issue of the Department of State Bulletin. Your expression of support for retraction conveyed to the Secretary of State would be most helpful.

Sincerely,

DOCUMENT POOR QUALITY

Ross Vartian
Executive Director

December 2, 1982

8239059

[redacted]

[redacted] reading the article "Armenian Terrorism: A [redacted] Corsun (Threat Analysis Group, Office of [redacted] in the August, 1982, issue of the Department [redacted]. To be quite candid, I was surprised to find an [redacted] a lack of logical consistency published as an [redacted] of the United States Department of State. As [redacted], I would expect statements of any executive [redacted] government to be accurate in fact and sound in [redacted].

[redacted] any ethical person must perforce condemn acts of [redacted] violence. Furthermore, any American citizen [redacted] the strategic importance of Turkey and the role it [redacted] security of the United States must [redacted] the State Department policy in supporting [redacted].

[redacted] condemnation of terrorism and our [redacted], it escapes me, as a student [redacted] of the Middle East, why either policy [redacted], at the expense of historical truth. The [redacted] characterization of the first world war as a [redacted] we may acquire either position held by the [redacted]. One can logically accept as fact the [redacted] planned persecution and massacres of the Armenians [redacted] in Asia Minor, condemn the assassination of Turkish [redacted] and support military and economic aid to Turkey. There [redacted] contradiction among these positions when viewed objectively. Neither is there any practical disadvantage in holding all three positions, since Turkey will accept military and economic assistance from the United States even if the U.S. Department of State accepts as unequivocal fact the entire historical record about the series of massacres of Armenians from 1894 through 1922. You can be sure that such aid does not have to be forced upon a reluctant recipient through the inducement of modified history.

Mr. Corsun begins his article with a reference to "the alleged massacre of 1.5 million Armenians by Turkey during World War I." At the time of the event and for a time thereafter, the entire civilized world spoke of and condemned the "alleged" massacre. Does Mr. Corsun and the State Department now doubt what was accepted as fact by so many? Or did Mr. Corsun mean to say the massacre of an alleged 1.5 million Armenians, doubting the

[more]

P.O. Box 132 - Dumont, New Jersey 07628

[illegible] event? In fact, Mr. Corsun [illegible]. On page 31 he writes of the death of [illegible] in 1895 and the massacre of over 30,000 [illegible] in 1909, without using the word "alleged" at [illegible] he refers to these massacres again, he [illegible] alleged mass murders (1894-96, 1909, 1915)..." [illegible] we should refer to the note appended to the [illegible] in part, "Because the historical record of [illegible] in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of [illegible] allegations that the Turkish Government [illegible] against the Armenian people." If the [illegible] of the time is truly ambiguous, how can Mr. [illegible] the inclusion in quotation marks of two [illegible] by Talaat Bey (Pasha) which are virtually [illegible] of a government plan to annihilate the Armenians. Mr. [illegible] unequivocally, "Minister of Interior Taalat [sic] [illegible] elimination of the Armenian element, which had [illegible] centuries to undermine the foundations of the [illegible] quotes 'the prophecy of Taalat [sic] who in 1915 [illegible] an Armenian question for 50 years.'" (I draw [illegible] inconsistent incorrect spelling of the Turkish [illegible] is spelled either Talaat or Talât, but [illegible].)

[illegible] that in 1915 the Turks ordered a [illegible] Armenians from Turkish Armenia to Syria and [illegible] Corsun has any knowledge of these deportations of [illegible] recent history, he must be aware that [illegible] tantamount to genocide. In such [illegible] the term "deportation" is merely a euphemism for [illegible].

The last footnote is a curious finale to an article that [illegible] to the Armenian massacres as "alleged." The footnote reads [illegible] the Kurds, who were pressed into military service under [illegible] Empire, played an important role in the liquidation [illegible] massacre of Armenians through World War I." This statement directly contradicts the State Department position that no genocide of the Armenians took place in the first world war. Does the author mean to imply that the massacres are alleged when attributed to the Turks, but factual when attributed to the Kurds?

There are three other points that attest to the poor research and editing of the article. First, the Western Powers did not establish the Independent Republic of Armenia, as stated on page 32. On the date cited, May 28, 1918, the Armenian government in Yerevan declared its independence after the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Federation (Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia). The Western Powers had nothing to do with the establishment of the Independent Armenian Republic, but were involved in negotiations, aid, definition of boundaries, etc., after its establishment.

[more]

[redacted]

[redacted] page 31 referring to the formation [redacted] is a gross oversimplification [redacted] relationships and the time frame. The [redacted] desire for a free Armenia to the [redacted] Federation). In reality, [redacted] years before the A.R.F. was [redacted] of a free Armenia, while the A.R.F. originally [redacted] within the Ottoman Empire, and greater [redacted] Also, the rise of nationalism [redacted] of Armenian nationalism by [redacted] this time difference relates as an [redacted] in Asia Minor prior to and during [redacted]

[redacted] terrorism, Mr. Corsun states on page [redacted] is monotheistic, and neither are the [redacted] Christian, are certainly [redacted] terrorist groups that I know of are [redacted] Armenians, Irish, Jews, [redacted] "monolithic"?

[redacted] of the article regarding events in [redacted] seems to be to cast doubt on the [redacted], or at least, to minimize [redacted] such an article should [redacted] U.S. Department of State is [redacted] highly [redacted] and [redacted] is World War I must have [redacted] if he [redacted] Talaat [redacted] he could [redacted] [redacted] United States to Turkey from [redacted] is a short bibliographic sampling [redacted] Armenian massacres. There is much more [redacted] certainly enough to convince any rational person [redacted] Armenian nation was marked for destruction by the Turkish [redacted]. The Great Massacre of the Armenians which began in [redacted] can no more be attributed to "the tragedies of war" than can the Holocaust of the Jews in the second world war.

Yours truly,

Pierre Papazian

cc: Andrew Corsun
Bill Bradley
Frank Lautenberg
Robert Torricelli
Elie Wiesel
N.Y. Times
Washington Post
L.A. Times

[redacted]

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Die [illegible] Berichte des Botschafters, 1848-1918.

[illegible] Ministère des Affaire Étrangères. [illegible] Documents Diplomatiques. État-Major [illegible] 1933]

[illegible] Akten zur auswärtigen Amts, 1867-1920.

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[illegible] Archives (Public Record Office, London.

[illegible] United States of America. U.S. Department of [illegible] Foreign Service Post Records, Constantinople. [1918-1929]

[illegible] U.S. Post Administration, the U.S. [illegible] Military Intelligence, U.S. Senate, etc.

[illegible] of Arthur James Balfour, Lord [illegible] Robert Cecil, Lord George [illegible] and Sir Alfred Milner.

[illegible] H. Bliss, [illegible] Cleveland [illegible]

[illegible] Woodrow Wilson, Robert [illegible] Williams, and Woodrow Wilson.

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[more]

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Vind, Elga. Armeniske born; fra Harpoot til Libanon. Copenhagen, 1949.

###

Pierre Papazian
P O. Box 132
Dumont, New Jersey 07628

EUR

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

I am enclosing for your consideration and review a copy of the article entitled "Armenian Terrorism, A Fourth [redacted] section, on page 33, "The Department of State does not [redacted] allegations that the Turkish government committed a genocide against the Armenian people." In light of what appears to be [redacted] evidence in support of this claim for Armenian genocide, I would appreciate your prompt review of this statement.

Thank you for your cooperation.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Robert A. [redacted]
Member of Congress

D.M. Cramer 11/20/85

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

(4)

Armenian Terrorism: A Profile

by Andrew Corsun
Threat Analysis Group
Office of Security

September 26, 1981, Paris. Four Armenian terrorists seized the Turkish Consulate and threatened to kill more than 30 hostages. A Turkish security guard was killed and three others were wounded (one of the terrorists, a Turkish Vice Consul, and a French security guard). The terrorists, who claimed to be members of the Turkish Kurdistan Commando of ASALA, demanded that all Armenian political prisoners be released from Turkish jails within 12 hours. As the deadline passed and the terrorists realized that the Turkish Government would not negotiate, the terrorists decided to accept a French Government offer of political asylum. Once in custody, however, the French Government stated that their offer was a ploy and that the terrorists would be treated as criminals. During a news conference in Beirut following this incident, ASALA leaders stated that their commandos were willfully deceived and that the promises made by the French Government must be kept or "there is no doubt that there will be a confrontation between them and us." (As of this publication date, the political/criminal status of the terrorists remains undetermined.) This was the first incident of Armenian terrorists seizing a diplomatic mission.

Introduction

Since the advent of modern Armenian terrorism in 1975, the world has witnessed a terrorist campaign that has resulted in at least 170 attacks directed primarily against Turkish installations and diplomatic personnel outside of Turkey's borders.

Enraged over the alleged massacre of 1.5 million Armenians by Turkey during World War I, and the loss of their homeland, Armenians unlike Jews tried and failed as propagandists to focus the world's attention on their grievances.[1] By resorting to terrorism, Armenian extremists were able to accomplish in 7 years what legitimate Armenian organizations have been trying to do for almost 70 years—internationalize the Armenian cause.

Terrorism may not be able to ease the pain of past agonies, but it is an effective tactic in evoking international sympathy for a previously unknown (or forgotten) cause. How many people had heard of the Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) or their cause before they bombed the headquarters of the World Council of Churches in Beirut on January 20, 1975? The same can be said for the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) who gained "prominence" on October 22, 1975, with the assassination of the Turkish Ambassador to Vienna, Dennis Tunalıgil. Since then, Armenian extremists have waged a successful campaign against Turkish interests that in recent years has expanded to include Western targets as well.

The Seeds of Conflict

According to historians, Armenia is believed to be not only the oldest of the civilized races of Western Asia (dating to pre-1200 B.C.), but eventually grew to become one of the strongest kingdoms in that region. Geographically, Armenia was straddling the crossroads of the world and thus became the victim of many invasions. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Turks finally ruled all the lands that once belonged to Armenians and held them for 465 years.

Since we are interested in the cause-and-effect relationship history has played regarding the recent outbreak of Armenian terrorist activities against Turkish diplomats and establishments, we will jump ahead in time to the Ottoman Empire of the late 19th century.

With the rise of nationalism throughout Europe, the Armenian struggle for autonomy and modernization took on new vigor in the 1850s, and the Armenians began to form political organizations for self-protection and as a vehicle to voice their desire for a free Armenia. One such organization was the Dashnaksutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) which was founded in 1890 in Tiflis, Georgia.

In a multiethnic state, such as the Ottoman Empire, nationalism was viewed by the Turks as a serious internal threat. The result was harsher repression by the Ottoman government which led to thousands of Armenian deaths in 1895. With the rise of the Young Turks in 1908, its policy of pan-Turanism led to even harsher measures in suppressing Armenian nationalism. On April 17 and 24, 1909, over 30,000 Armenians were massacred in Adana and other villages along the Cilician plains in order to suppress the national ambitions of the Armenian people.

With the advent of World War I, the stage was set for what was later alleged to be called the first "genocide" of the

20th century, Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire on October 30, 1914, and allowed safe-passage to the Armenians if they would foment discussion behind the Russian lines. Partly out of distrust of the Young Turks, and encouraged by the principle of self-determination, they refused.

Turkey viewed this attitude as treasonous, especially in light of the fact that it (Turkey) was suffering heavy military reversals. Minister of Interior Talaat Bey ordered "the elimination of the Armenian element, which had been trying for centuries to undermine the foundation of the state." By 1915 the Turks ordered a mass deportation of Armenians from Turkish Armenia to Syria and Iraq. It was later alleged that 1.5 million people (approximately 60% of the Turkish Armenian population) were killed or died on the journey.

With the conclusion of the war, the Western Powers established the Independent Republic of Armenia on May 28, 1918, which was later guaranteed by the Treaty of Sevres, and signed on August 10, 1920, by Turkey, the Allied Powers, and Armenia. But due to the pressures exerted by the Turks and Communists, the new republic collapsed, and by December 2, 1920, Armenia was Sovietized and its territories to the west were awarded to Turkey.

The basis for their grievances, as perceived by the Armenians, is not only the restoration of their homeland but to seek justice for the alleged mass murders (1894–96, 1909, 1915) of more than 1.5 million people. It is these issues that have fostered the armed struggle by Armenian extremists against Turkish diplomats and establishments around the world.

During the diaspora of 1915, many Armenians fled to Lebanon which has long been regarded as a refuge for dispossessed minorities. Although the Armenian community (approximately 200,000) in Lebanon had flourished and played a vital role in Lebanese life, by the 1970s they became caught-up in the internecine fighting that had overtaken Lebanon. When the Phalangists (Catholic Christian rightists) decided to use the Armenian section of east Beirut, known as Bourj Hammoud, to launch their attacks against the adjacent Muslim section called Nabaa, a split resulted within the Armenian community. Some Armenians felt that they had a duty to take up arms on behalf of their Christian brothers, while others, mainly left-wing Armenian youth through their close contact (via the universities and the proximity of their neighborhoods) with their Palestinian counterparts, realized they shared a similar situation—they had lost their land, had a large diaspora community, and the use of legal methods to bring their cause to world attention had failed. The left-wing Armenian youth began to form their own groups (e.g., ASALA) with the aid of the Palestinians, and links between the two were formed. Many of these youths also moved to the Palestinian section of west Beirut. With the political success that the Palestinians have achieved through terrorism, it is not surprising that these left-wing Armenian youths would choose the same path. The growing sympathy and support that these youths have gained within the worldwide Armenian community had forced the right-wing Armenians to set up their own group (JCAG), but for different goals and objectives.

Terrorist Activities

Terrorism is certainly not a new tactic for Armenian extremists. At the end of World War I, the Dashnag decided it would carry out its own executions of those Ottoman leaders they believed were responsible for the "genocide" of the Armenian people. As a result, a network called Nemesis was established to track down and execute those Ottoman leaders.

On March 15, 1921, the former Ottoman Minister of Interior Taalat Bey—who was living in Berlin under the pseudonym Ali Sayi Bey—was shot and killed at point-blank range after being under surveillance for 2 weeks by Soghoman Tehlirian. Others who met the same fate at the hands of Nemesis were the Ottoman Foreign Minister Said Halim, who was assassinated in Rome in December 1921, and Behaeddin Shakir and Djimal Azmi, two Ottoman officials who were killed a year later in Berlin. It is unknown what became of Nemesis following the incidents of the early 1920s. Yet one must wonder why Armenian extremists have waited over 60 years to carry out their armed struggle. Were they perhaps fulfilling the prophecy of Taalat who in 1915 said, "There will be no Armenian question for 50 years," or (a more plausible explanation) are the times such that terrorism has become an acceptable vehicle for protest?

Whatever the reason, since returning to the scene in 1976, Armenian terrorists have claimed responsibility for over 170 incidents which includes the assassination of 21 Turkish diplomats and/or family members, and 10 attempted assassinations of Turkish diplomats. Although the tactic of assassination has been used repeatedly, the majority of their operations have been bombings which are simple in construction and design. Unlike the Irish Republican Army [IRA], which favors remote-control devices, Armenian terrorists have been partial to a Czechoslovakian-manufactured plastic called Semtex-H. In the overwhelming majority of cases, this device is set at such an hour to cause property damage and not cost lives.

Operationally Armenian terrorists must be viewed as unsophisticated in comparison with other groups since they have never shown the inclination or ability to hit a hard target. The only exceptions were the seizure of the Turkish Consulate in Paris on September 24, 1981, and the attempted assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Rotterdam on July 21, 1982, both of which failed. In the seizure of the consulate, the four terrorists eventually surrendered without any of their demands being met. In Rotterdam the consul general, who was traveling to work in an armored car and escorted by two police vehicles, was attacked by four terrorists. The assailants opened fire with automatic weapons—which proved ineffective against the armored car—and as they attempted to flee the area, one of the attackers was shot and captured. Their bombings and assassinations required the minimum of logistical planning.

While no one can dispute their success, nevertheless, it is such spectacular operations as airport attacks, kidnappings, and assassinations of well-protected political officials that generate maximum publicity and impact which is so important to the terrorists raison d'etre.

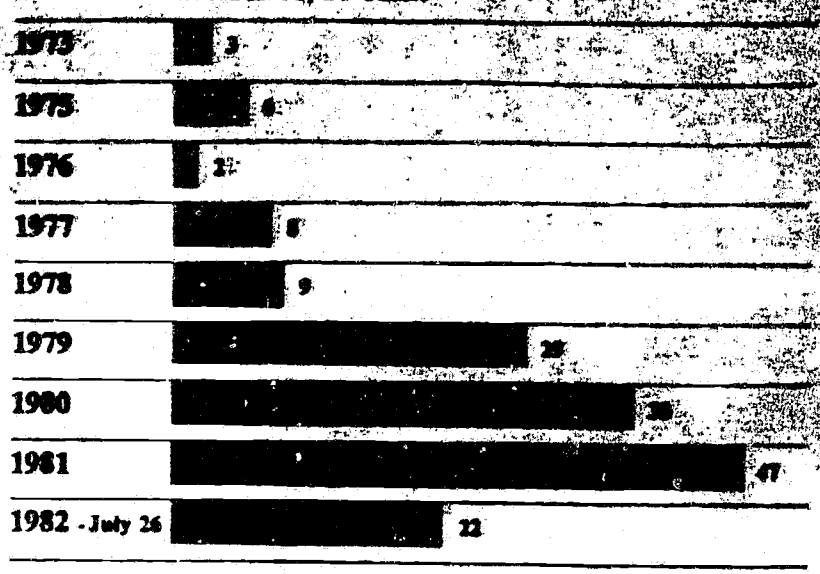
[redacted]

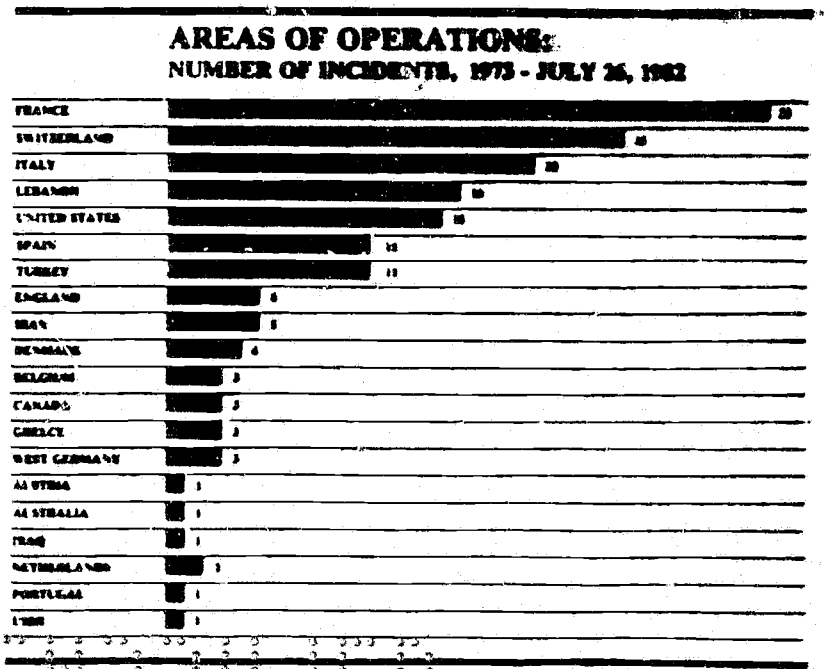
JCAG and ASALA

While Armenian extremists have carried attacks under 10 operational names, the main terrorists groups are the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA). On the surface these two groups appear to be united by a common goal. However, a closer look at their communiques and targeting, reveals that their methods and objectives are quite different.

Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide. Unlike ASALA, which is Marxist oriented and adheres to the philosophy of Scientific Socialism, JCAG appears more closely aligned with the policies of the right-wing Dashnag party. The goals of the Dashnag are to reclaim their lost homeland, as specified in the treaty of Sevres, and to seek reparations and recognition of the crimes committed against their people by Turkey; and they seek a ceiling similar to Germany's admission of guilt and reparations to Israel after World War II. JCAG, in its communiques, appears to strive for these same goals. Following the assassination of the Turkish Ambassadors to Vienna and Paris in October and December of 1980 respectively, JCAG, in a follow-up communique entitled "To all the Peoples and Governments" wrote:

Let the world realize that we will lay down our arms only when the Turkish Government officially denounces the genocide perpetrated





by Turkey in 1915 against the Armenian people and agrees to negotiate with Armenian representatives in order to establish justice.

And following the bombings in New York City and Los Angeles on October 12, 1980, JCAG stated:

We make clear that our struggle today against the Turkish Government is not to be regarded as revenge for the 1915 genocide in which 1.5 million Armenian men, women, and children were massacred. Our struggle today is directed to have the Turkish Government to admit to its responsibility for that murderous act, as well as to return to the Armenian people the lands taken forcefully and today occupied by the imperialist Turkish Government since the genocide. We demand once again that the Turkish Government admit its responsibility for the genocide of 1915 and make appropriate territorial and financial reparations to the long-suffering Armenian people.

This theme remains constant in all their communiques to February 1982 with the assassination of the honorary Turkish Consul to Boston, Orhan Gunduz. In Paris JCAG said that:

The shooting was to reaffirm the permanence of our demands. The Turkish Government must recognize the responsibility of its predecessors in 1915 in the execution and genocide perpetrated against the Armenian people, and it must clearly condemn it. Secondly, the Turkish Government must recognize the right of the Armenian people to constitute a free and independent state of Armenian land which Turkey illegally occupies.

Because ideology affects the operational strategy of a terrorist group, JCAG concentrated its operation solely on Turkish interests. The one possible exception was the January 1980 triple bombing of the offices of Swiss Air, TWA, and British Airlines in Madrid. At first JCAG claimed credit for the bombing, but in a later phone call to the local press, the caller said that JCAG was not responsible for the bombing and, in fact, condemned it.

As the group name implies, of the 22 operations carried out by JCAG, 10 of the operations were assassinations (resulting in 12 deaths), 6 were attempted assassinations, and 6 were bombings.

Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia. Whereas JCAG's stance on the Armenian question appears compatible with traditional Armenian political beliefs, ASALA's [illegible] whose communiques are replete with Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, considers the Armenian question part of the international revolutionary movement, and they seek closer ties with Soviet Armenia.

For the first 4½ years of its existence, ASALA concentrated its attacks (the sole exception being the bombing of the headquarters of the World Council of Churches in Beirut in January 1979) on Turkish installations and diplomatic personnel. During this period, ASALA was in the process of emerging its organization and base of operations in

preparation for entering its second and current phase.

Our second step was only possible due to the successful completion of our first step which had politicized the Armenian youth enough to gain their support in the second step. This second step contains four new developments: (1) heavy assault on imperialist and Zionist and reactionary forces; (2) a much greater frequency of attacks; (3) direct communities with the Armenian masses and international opinion; and (4) strong ties with other revolutionary organizations including operational ties with the Kurdish Workers Party [of Turkey].[1]

No doubt this "second step," which began on November 13, 1979, in Paris with the triple bombing of the airline offices of KLM, Lufthansa, and Turkish Airlines, was influenced by ASALA's close cooperation with the Palestinians, most notably the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). In a follow-up communique to this attack, ASALA set the theme for future operations.

Let imperialism and its collaborators all over the world know that their institutions are targets for our bombs and will be destroyed. We will kill and destroy because that is the only language understood by imperialism.

While ASALA has done its share of assassinating Turkish officials (three, nevertheless, half of their bombings are directed against Western targets. The group, operating under various ad hoc commando names, has taken it upon itself to carry out "military operations" against any country which attempts to jail or try one of its commandos. Examples of this can be seen with the arrest on October 8, 1980, in Geneva of two Armenian extremists—Suzy Mahseredjian and Alec Yaghoubdjian—who were arrested after a bomb they were making accidentally exploded in their hotel room. Until their eventual release on January 12, 1981, and February 9, 1981, respectively, ASALA—using the name October 3 Organization—in a 4-month period carried out 18 bombings against Swiss interests worldwide in an effort to force the Swiss to release their comrades. The two extremists received 18-month suspended sentences and were barred from Switzerland for 15 years.

On June 9, 1981, Mardiros Jamgotchian was caught in the act of assassinating a Turkish diplomat—Mehmet-Sinven Yergun—outside the Turkish Consulate in Geneva. From the time of his arrest on June 9 to his trial on December 19 (he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment), ASALA, using the name June 9 Organization, perpetrated 15 bombings against Swiss targets worldwide. After Jamgotchian's trial, ASALA, again using the name Swiss Armenian Group 15, has, to date, carried out five bombings against Swiss targets.

Switzerland is not the only country that has been targeted by ASALA; Italy, France, and most recently Canada have been victims of ASALA's wrath. On May 31, 1982, three alleged ASALA members were arrested for attempting to bomb the Air Canada cargo building at Los Angeles International Airport. It is suspected that this bombing was in retaliation for the May 18 and 20 arrests

[redacted] JCAG [redacted] Turkish police [redacted]

[redacted] JCAG [redacted] Turkish [redacted] Alex Finn, the chief Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representative in Turkey replied:

In our camps, we train them to be terrorists in their countries but to fight against Israel. For this reason, we cannot be held responsible for training them. Since Armenians are citizens of Lebanon, we also train them to fight for the liberation of Palestine.

Although there have been reports of links between Armenian terrorists and Greek Cypriots, Greeks, and even the Soviets, outside of the assistance that ASALA has received from the Palestinians, there is no proof that Armenian terrorists are plugged into any international terrorist network.

Conclusion

While Armenian terrorism has evoked a greater interest in and awareness of the Armenian question throughout the world, the chances of Armenians attaining their major objectives through terrorism are nebulous at best. This has been exemplified by the PLO, IRA, Croatians, etc. A viable solution to the Armenian question will only come about through political means (e.g., United Nations, lobbyist groups, etc.) and/or compromise on both sides. Yet, until such a path is followed—if ever—the issues will be kept fresh in the public's mind through acts of terrorism.

Although ASALA is based in west Beirut and JCAG in east Beirut, on the surface it would appear that the recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon has not affected the operational capabilities of Armenian terrorists as witnessed by the July 20 and 24 bombings of two Paris cafes by the Orly Organization and the July 21 attempted assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Rotterdam by the Armenian Red Army.

Yet on closer examination, the bombings of the two cafes are the types of low-level operations that can be carried out by indigenous cells independent of instructions from Beirut. While an attempted assassination of an individual traveling in an armored car with a police escort requires detailed planning, the attack against the consul general appeared [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[

(12)

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

1982 DEC 8 PM 3 12

RC
DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

December 1, 1982

S

Honorable George Schultz
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

It has come to my attention that the U.S. Department of State has committed itself to a position on the Turkish genocide of Armenians that reflects at best very poor judgment. As is the case with any historical event of great significance, there exists from our perspective a number of ambiguities concerning numerical claims and specific circumstances. This applies even to Hitler's destruction of the European Jews. However, to deny for all practical purposes the existence of the genocide itself is a violation not only of common sense and of the historical record, it is a premeditated assault on the truth.

In refusing to endorse allegations against the Turkish government, the U.S. Department of State is implicitly accepting all of the specious denials of the latter party, and thus in effect negating the validity of any Armenian claims. Perhaps we should cast Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago and The Diary of Anne Frank in a waste basket alongside the volumes of evidence attesting to the Armenian genocide. After all, the Department had no official representatives at either Belsen-Bergen or the Siberian death camps to confirm the assertions of those who were merely witnesses.

In this case, the Department has gone beyond hypocrisy to the point of conscious deception. Enclosed is a series of telegrams which document the size, scope and nature of the Turkish atrocities. They are signed by one Henry J. Morganthau, American Ambassador to Constantinople in 1915.

Turkey is an ally of the U.S., as is the Federal Republic of Germany. The entire truth of the Armenian genocide, as far as we can know it, may be an embarassment to the Turkish government. However, an acknowledgement of guilt is the first step in at least living with this unforgivable crime, and it is not a move which should be impeded by the U.S. government. I call upon you Mr. Secretary to allow the truth to see the light of day.

Sincerely,

JAMES J. HOWARD
Member of Congress

JJH:ff
Enclosures

(15)

THIS STATIONERY PRINTED ON PAPER MADE WITH RECYCLED FIBERS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEWED BY
NARA, DATE
EO, AUTH:
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L

Enclosure 3

RSB TELEGRAM RECEIVED. GREEN CIPHER

From Constantinople,

Dated July 16, 1915,

Rec'd. 2:30 A.M.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

THIRD ASSISTANT SECRETARY JUL 20 1915

867.4016/5

858, July 16, 1 p m.

~~Confidential.~~ Have you received my 841? Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.

Protests as well as threats are unavailing and probably incite the Ottoman government to more drastic measures as they are determined to disclaim responsibility for their absolute disregard of capitulations and I believe nothing short of actual force which obviously United States are not in a position to exert would adequately meet the situation. I suggest you inform belligerent nations and mission boards of this.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,
Constantinople

[illegible] by

ENCLOSURE #2

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
[illegible] DATE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED CIPHER

From Constantinople

Dated July 10, 1915

Rec'd 14th 9:50 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

841, July 10, 9 A.M.

~~Strictly confidential.~~ My 778, June 18, 8 p.m. ~~Persecution of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions.~~ Reports from widely scattered districts indicate systematic attempts to uproot peaceful Armenian populations and through arbitrary arrests, terrible tortures, wholesale expulsions and deportations from one end of the Empire to the other accompanied by frequent instances of rape, pillage, and murder, turning into massacre, to bring destruction and destitution on them. These measures are not in response to popular or fanatical demand but are purely arbitrary and directed from Constantinople in the name of military necessity often in districts where no military operations are likely to take place. The Moslem and Armenian populations have been living in harmony but because

Confidential File

867.4016/128

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople, page 2
July 10, 9 a m

cause Armenians volunteers, many of them Russian subjects, have joined Russian army in the Caucasus and some have been implicated in armed revolutionary movements and others have been helpful to Russians in their invasion of Van district terrible vengeance is being taken. Most of the sufferers are innocent and have been loyal to Ottoman Government. Nearly all are old men, women, all the men from twenty to forty-five are in Turkish army. The victims find themselves dispossessed from their homes and sent on foot to be dispersed in districts where they are unknown and no provisions have been made to lodge or to feed them. We have in several places been refused permission to relieve their misery or to have access to them. In some few instances where they opposed these measures and took refuge in the mountains and some arms or bombs were found it provoked the authorities to further cruelties which they attempt to justify by the opposition. Untold misery, disease, starvation and loss of life will go on unchecked. Consul Davis of Harput reports quote: Professors American College

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
of 1-8-58 FROM W. B. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT.
BY [redacted] DATE [redacted]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople, 9 2
July 10, 9 a m

College have been tortured. Some others have died under torture or lost mind. Many hundred young Armenian men originally taken as soldiers, someof whom were students American College, have been sent away without food, clothing or money. Night of June 28 several hundred other Armenians recently arrested, including professors American College, were sent away in the middle of thenight without food, clothing ormoney. Many deaths are reported en route in both lots of prisoners. Preparations are being made apparently to send away many more.

[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION CANCELLED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF [illegible] FROM U. S. ATTORNEY, STATE DEPT
By [illegible] Date [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

[illegible]

From Constantinople.

Number --- 881.

A-1.

I was informed confidentially today that an enormous sum of money is now being demanded of the local Armenians. There seems to be a [redacted] to crush the Armenian race.

All things make us apprehend permanent closing of American schools.

That only refers to one place.

Many Armenians are becoming Moslems to avoid persecution. In addition to humanitarian considerations we have a real interest through the fact that certain objectionable Armenians involved in these forced dispossessions and deportations are naturalized citizens of the United States and that the charitable and educational work of the American board will suffer considerably and in many places will cease altogether.

The only means here which might assist

Deciphered by

DECLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-28-48 FROM W. H. LUCKMAN, STATE DEPT.
BY [illegible] DATE [illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM

From Constantinople

Number --- 8dli..

A-2.

assist in lessening these atrocities is the German but I believe it will simply content itself with giving advice and a formal protest probably intended for record and to cover itself from future responsibility. German Ambassador is about to leave on a six weeks vacation. Have impressed on him that he and his Government will have considerable share in the odium. Immediately upon the arrival of his substitute I shall make herculean efforts to enlist his sympathies. Austrian Ambassador has promised me to try to influence Minister of the Interior.

I have repeatedly spoken to the Grand Vizier and pleaded earnestly with Minister of the Interior and Minister of War to stop this persecution. My arguments were unavailing except as to Constantinople. The men in authority

[illegible]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM Constantinople

Number --- 8:45.

A-3.

authority are revolutionists and displaced the Hamidian Government with the cooperation of some Armenian revolutionists who know their method and are feared by them as a possible nucleus of a # against the present authorities. They admit that they will resort to any and every means to prevent their losing control of Government. They state that it is the Union and Progress committee's nationalistic policy which they refused to modify even when Russia, France and Great Britain threatened Ottoman Cabinet Ministers with personal responsibility. Turkish authorities desire to avail themselves of present conditions when three of the great powers are at war with them, Italy in strained relations, and the two others are their allies and therefore will not interfere when they are successfully defending the formidable attack at the Dardanelles.

I have conferred with various American missionaries

Decyphered by

THE TELEGRAM RECEIVED OVER CIPHER

From Constantinople

Dated July 31, 1915,

Rec'd 3, 10 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

893, July 31, 5 p m.

My 847 and 858. Doctor Lepsius, President of German-Orient Mission which maintains six Armenian orphan asylums in Turkey, has information from reliable source that Armenians, mostly women and children, deported from the Erzerum district, have been massacred near Kemakh between Erzingan and Egerut. Similar reports come from other sources showing that but few of these unfortunate people will ever reach their stated destination. Their lot incontestably pitiable. The Doctor proposes to submit matter to International Red Cross for common action to try to induce Germany to demand cessation of these horrors. He earnestly requests access to information Embassy has on file. Will give him if Department has no objection.

MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador

Decyphered by

E.O. 12356, SEC. 3.3 LETTER
BY L.A.O. NSC, W. R. DAMERON, STATE DEPT
DATE

3-S

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople

Dated August 28, 1915.

Rec'd August 31, 8 p.m.

AUG 31 1915
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,
Washington.

940, August 18, 8 p.m.

Minister of the Interior informed me that orders were telegraphed to provinces exempting from deportation all Protestant and Catholic Armenians. Although a large number have already been deported, many of whom were murdered, yet these orders if properly executed will save many Armenians connected with the American missions. Protestants and Catholics are about ten per cent of Armenians, ninety per cent being Gregorian. I have requested the exemption of all Armenian [illegible] teachers, students, inmates, nurses, et cetera connected with American institutions. Both Ministers of War and Interior seem inclined to grant my request. Have secured exemption for Armenian employees of our Consulates.

MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador.

Decyphered by

[redacted]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

[redacted]

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1148, October 12, 2 p m.

October eighth was another [redacted]
catholic and protestant [redacted]
eight of those connected with institutions
have been deported to the east. [redacted]
have been made only in two places and there in
a very limited extent. The [redacted]
portant is simply changing [redacted]
the [redacted]
nality. [redacted]
tion relief [redacted]
on hand [redacted]

MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador

Deciphered by [redacted]

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1141.

October 4, 4 p.m.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.~~

Your 1140 and my previous telegrams in regard to this subject. ~~Several hundred~~ thousand Armenians have already been destroyed or ~~are believed that their destruction~~ is ~~imminent~~ inevitable. Armenian quarters of towns and villages where they lived have been entirely evacuated. Much of the Armenian property has been absorbed by officials or their Turkish neighbors and the Government is sequestering the remainder. The injustice, grief, poverty, starvation, resulting therefrom are terrible.

The

Enciphered by

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM

Number

The coterie; some of them office holders; who constitute the irresponsible governing force and who control the situation have smothered the opposition in Turkish Senate. Threats of belligerent nations are not only disregarded but seem to result in harsher treatment. The German and Austrian Embassies here seem to have no restraining power on the Turks claim that they have given some help that they have received. As far as America is concerned Turks under value sentimental good will in the absence of actual assistance. They allege that all ammunition we sell and money we loan helps our their enemies and not to their(comfort?). As time progresses without the Dardanelles being forced; and now that Bulgaria has reached an understanding with them, the Turks are feeling more independent and defiant than ever and less amenable to outside influences.

The

Deciphered by

[redacted]

The greatest wealth of the Armenians is centered in Constantinople and I [redacted] is [redacted] of [redacted] of [redacted] of practically destroying [redacted] will [redacted] they have the others. Delay is being secured but entire escape of Constantinople [redacted] is doubtful if present general [redacted] conditions here remain unchanged. I shall not relax my efforts to help to avoid this calamity, always remembering to do nothing that will jeopardize American interests which until now have been safeguarded.

In the meantime please [redacted] direct the sympathies that are aroused America into practical channels. Large sums of money are needed to relieve suffering and prevent starvation and the United States is the only source from which substantial assistance

Deciphered by [redacted]

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

FROM [redacted]

Dated [redacted] 1942.

Rec'd [redacted]

Assistance can be secured.

MORGENTHAU.

AMERICAN EMBASSY.

Deciphered by [redacted]